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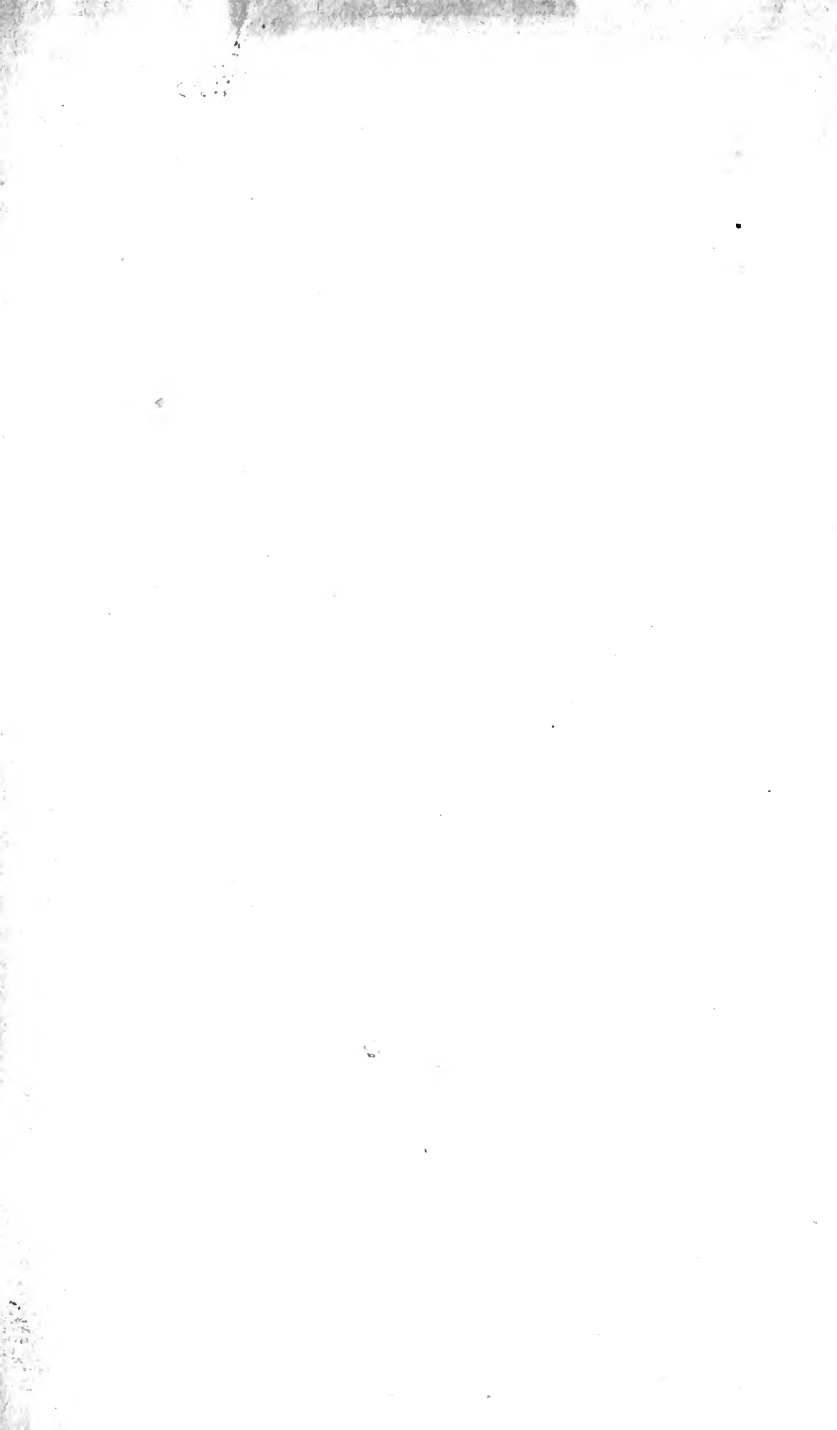


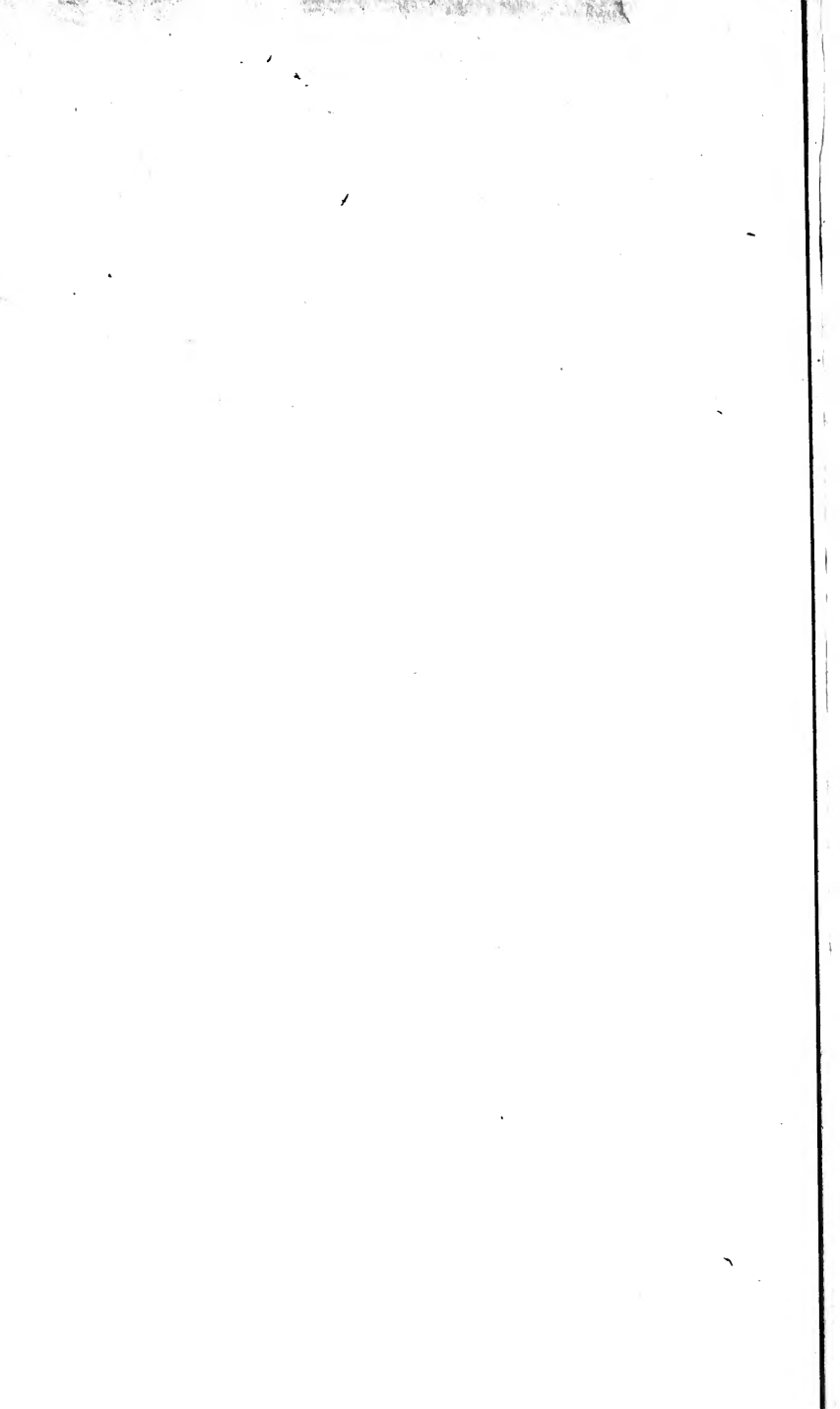
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THE

John Adams

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE

OF

Marcus Tullius Cicero.

*Hunc igitur spectemus. Hoc propositum sic nobis exemplum.
Ille se profecisse sciat, cui CICERO valde placebit.*

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Y H O T A I E

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO.

S E C T. VI.

CICERO's return was, what he himself truly calls it, *the beginning of a new life* to him [a]; which was to be governed by new maxims, and a new kind of policy; yet so as not to forfeit his old character. He had been made to feel in what hands the weight of power lay, and what little dependence was to be placed on the help and support of his Aristocratical friends: Pompey had served him on this important occasion very sincerely, and with the concurrence also of Cæsar; so as to make it a point

A. Urb. 696.
Cic. 50.
Coff.
P. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS
SPINTHER,
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS
NEPOS.

[a] *Alterius vitæ quoddam initium ordimur.* [ad Att. 4. 1.] In another place, he calls his restoration to his former dignity, *παλιγγενεσίαν*, [ad Att. 6. 6.] or a new birth; a word borrowed probably from the *Pythagorean* school,

and applied afterwards by the sacred Writers to the renovation of our nature by Baptism, as well as our restoration to life, after death, in the general resurrection. Matt. xix. 29. Tit. iii. 5.

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of gratitude, as well as prudence, to be more ob-
servant of them than he had hitherto been: the
senate, on the other hand, with the Magistrates,
and the honest of all ranks, were zealous in his
cause; and the *Consul Lentulus* above all seemed
to make it *the sole end and glory of his administra-
tion* [b]. This uncommon consent of opposite
parties in promoting his restoration, drew upon
him *a variety of obligations, which must needs often
clash and interfere with each other*; and which it
was his part still to manage so, as to make them
consistent with his honour, his safety, his private,
and his public duty: these were to be the springs
and motives of his *new life*; the hinges on which
his future conduct was to turn; and to do justice
severally to them all, and assign to each *its proper
weight and measure of influence*, required his ut-
most skill and address [c].

THE day after his arrival, *on the fifth of Sep-
tember*, the Consuls summoned the Senate, to
give him an opportunity of paying his thanks to
them in public for their late services; where,
after a general profession of his obligations to them
all, he made his particular acknowledgments to
each Magistrate by name, *to the Consuls; the
Tribuns; the Prætors*: he addressed himself *to
the Tribuns*, before the *Prætors*; not for the dig-
nity of their office, for in that they were inferior,
but for their greater authority in making laws;
and consequently, their greater merit in carrying

[b] Hoc specimen virtutis,
hoc indicium animi, hoc lu-
men consulatus sui fore puta-
vit, si me mihi, si meis, si
Reipub. reddidisset.—Post
red. in sen. 4.

[c] Sed quia sæpe concur-
rit, propter aliquorum de me
meritorum inter ipsos conten-

tiones, ut eodem tempore in
omnes verear ne vix possim
gratus videri. Sed ego hoc
meis ponderibus examinabo,
non solum quid cuique de-
beam, sed etiam quid cujus-
que intersit, & quid a me cu-
jusque tempus poscat. Pro
Plancio. 32

his law into effect. The number of his private friends *was too great to make it possible for him to enumerate or thank them all; so that he confined himself to the Magistrates, with exception only to Pompey [d]*, whom for the eminence of his character, though at present only a private man, he took care to distinguish by a personal address and compliment. But as Lentulus was the first in office, and had served him with the greatest affection, so he gives him *the first share of his praise; and in the overflowing of his gratitude styles him, the Parent and the God of his life and fortunes [e]*. The next day he paid his thanks likewise to the people, in a speech from *the Rostra*; where he dwelt chiefly on the same topics which he had used in the senate, celebrating the particular merits and services of his principal friends, especially of *Pompey*; whom he declares to be the *greatest man for virtue, wisdom, glory, who was then living, or had lived, or ever would live; and that he owed more to him on this occasion, than it was even lawful almost, for one man to owe to another [f]*.

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[d] Cum perpaucis nominatim gratias egissem, quod omnes enumerari nullo modo possent, scelus autem esset quenquam præteriri.—ib. 30.

Hodierno autem die nominatim a me Magistratibus statui gratias esse agendas, & de privatis uni, qui pro salute mea municipia, coloniasque adisset.—Post red. in Sen. 12.

[e] Princeps P. Lentulus, parens ac Deus nostræ vitæ, fortunæ, &c. ib. 4. It was a kind of maxim among the ancients! that *to do good to a mortal, was to be a God to a mortal. Deus est mortali, ju-*

ware mortalem. [Plin. Hist. 2. 7.] Thus Cicero, as he calls *Lentulus* here his *God*, so on other occasions gives the same appellation to *Plato. Deus ille noster Plato*—[ad Att. 4. 16.] to express the highest sense of the benefits received from them.

[f] Cn. Pompeius, vir omnium qui sunt, fuerunt, erunt, princeps virtute, sapientia, ac gloria.—Huic ego homini, Quirites, tantum debeo, quantum hominem homini debere vix fast est. Post red. ad Quir. 7.

A. Urb. 696. BOTH these speeches are still extant, and a passage or two from each will illustrate the temper and disposition in which he returned: in speaking to the Senate, after a particular recital of the services of his friends, he adds, “as I have a pleasure in enumerating these, so I willingly pass over in silence what others wickedly acted against me: it is not my present business to remember injuries; which if it were in my power to revenge, I should chuse to forget; my life shall be applied to other purposes; to repay the good offices of those who have deserved it of me; to hold fast the friendships which have been tried as it were in the fire; to wage war with declared enemies; to pardon my timorous, nor yet expose my treacherous friends; and to balance the misery of my exile by the dignity of my return—[g].” To the people he observes; “that there were four sorts of enemies, who concurred to oppress him: the first, who, out of hatred to the Republic, were mortal enemies to him for having saved it: the second, who, under a false pretence of friendship, infamously betrayed him: the third, who, through their inability to obtain what he had acquired, were envious of his dignity: the fourth, who, though by office they ought to have been the guardians of the Republic, bartered away his safety, the peace of the City, and the dignity of the Empire, which were committed to their trust. I will take my revenge, says he, on each of them, agreeably to the different manner of their provocation; on the bad Citizens, by defending the Republic strenuously; on my perfidious friends, by never trusting them again; on the envious, by continuing my steady pursuit of virtue and

[g] Post red. in Sen. 9.

“ glory ; on those Merchants of Provinces, by A. Urb. 696.
 “ calling them home to give an account of their Cic. 50.
 “ administration : but I am more solicitous how Coss.
 “ to acquit myself of my obligations to you, for P. CORNELIUS
 “ your great services, than to resent the injuries LENTULUS
 “ and cruelties of my enemies : for it is much SPINTHER,
 “ easier to revenge an injury than to repay a Q. CÆCILIUS
 “ kindness, and much less trouble to get the METELLUS
 “ better of bad men than to equal the good [b].” NEPOS.

THIS affair being happily over, the Senate had leisure again to attend to public business ; and there was now a case before them of a very urgent nature, which required a present remedy ; *an unusual scarcity of corn and provisions* in the City, which had been greatly increased by the late concourse of people from all parts of *Italy*, on Cicero’s account, and was now felt very severely by the poor Citizens : They had born it with much patience while Cicero’s return was in agitation ; comforting themselves with a notion, that if he was once restored, plenty would be restored with him ; but finding the one at last effected without the other, they began to grow clamorous, and unable to endure their hunger any longer.

CLODIUS could not let slip so fair an opportunity of exciting some new disturbance, and creating fresh trouble to Cicero, by charging the calamity to his *score* : for this end he employed a number of young fellows to run all night about the streets, making a lamentable outcry for bread ; and calling upon Cicero to relieve them from the famine to which he had reduced them ; as if he had got some hidden store or magazine of corn, secreted from common use [i]. He sent

[b] Post red. ad Quir. 9.

[i] Qui facultate oblata,

ad imperitorum animos incitandos, renovaturum te illa

A. Urb. 696. sent his mob also to the Theatre, in which *the*
 Cic. 50. *Prætor Cæcilius*, Cicero's particular friend, was
 Coss. exhibiting *the Apollinarian shews*, where they raised
 P. CORNELIUS such a terror that they drove the whole com-
 LENTULUS pany out of it: then, in the same tumultuous man-
 SPINTHER, ner, they marched to the Temple of CONCORD,
 Q. CÆCILIVS whither Metellus had summoned the Senate; but
 METELLUS
 NEPOS. X happening to meet with Metellus in the way,
 they presently attacked him with volleys of stones;
 with some of which they wounded even the Con-
 sul himself, who, for the greater security, im-
 mediately adjourned the Senate into the *Capitol*.
 They were led on by two desperate Ruffians,
 their usual commanders, M. Lollius and M.
 Sergius, the first of whom had in Clodius's Tri-
 bunate undertaken the task of killing Pompey;
 the second had been Captain of the Guard to Ca-
 tiline, and was probably of his family [k]: but
 Clodius, encouraged by this hopeful beginning,
 put himself at their head in person, and pursued
 the Senate into the *Capitol*, in order to disturb
 their debates, and prevent their providing any
 relief for the present evil; and above all, to ex-
 cite the meaner sort to some violence against Cicero.

funesta latrocinia ob annonæ
 causam putavisti. Pro dom. 5.

Quid? puerorum illa con-
 cursatio nocturna? num a te
 ipso instituta me frumentum
 flagitabant? Quasi vero ego
 aut rei frumentariæ præfuis-
 sem, aut compressum aliquod
 frumentum tenerem. Ib. 6.

[k] Cum homines ad The-
 atrum primo, deinde ad Se-
 natum concurrissent impulsu
 Clodii. Ad Att. 4. 1.

Concursus est ad Templum
 Concordiæ factus, Senatum
 illuc vocante Metello— qui

sunt homines a Q. Metello,
 in Senatu palam nominati, a
 quibus ille se lapidibus appe-
 titum, etiam percussum esse
 dixit.—Quis est iste Lollius?
 Qui te Tribuno pleb.—Cn.
 Pompeium interficiendum de-
 poposcit.—Quis est Sergius?
 armiger Catilinæ, stipator tui
 corporis, signifer seditionis—
 his atque hujusmodi ducibus,
 cum tu in annonæ caritate in
 Consules, in Senatum— re-
 pentinos impetus comparares.
 —Pro dom. 5.

But he soon found, to his great disappointment, that Cicero was too strong in the affections of the City to be hurt again so soon: for the people themselves saw through his design, and were so provoked at it, *that they turned universally against him, and drove him out of the field, with all his mercenaries; when perceiving that Cicero was not present in the Senate, they called out upon him by name with one voice, and would not be quieted till he came in person to undertake their cause, and propose some expedient for their relief. He had kept his house all that day, and resolved to do so, till he saw the issue of the tumult; but when he understood that Clodius was repulsed, and that his presence was universally required by the Consuls, the Senate, and the whole People, he came to the Senate-house, in the midst of their debates, and being presently asked his opinion, proposed, that Pompey should be entreated to undertake the province of restoring plenty to the City; and, to enable him to execute it with effect, should be invested with an absolute power over all the public stores and corn-rents of the Empire through all the Provinces: the motion was readily accepted, and a vote immediately passed, that a law should be prepared for that purpose, and offered to the people [1]. All the Consular Senators*

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B 4

were

[1] Ego vero domi me tenui, quamdiu turbulentum tempus fuit— cum servos tuos ad rapinam, ad bonorum cædem paratos— armatos etiam in Capitolium tecum venisse constabat— scio me domi mansisse — posteaquam mihi nunciatum est, populum Romanum in Capitolium— convenisse, ministros autem scelerum tuorum perterritos, partim amissis gladiis, partim ereptis diffugisse; veni non

solum sine ullis copiis, ac manu, verum etiam cum paucis amicis.—Ib. 3.

Ego denique — a populo Romano universo, qui tum in Capitolium convenerat, cum illo die minus valerem, nominatim in Senatum vocabar. Veni expectatus; multis jam sententiis dictis, rogatus sum sententiam; dixi Reipub. saluberrimam, mihi necessarium. Ib. 7.

Factum

A. Urb. 696. *were absent, except Messala and Afranius: they pretended to be afraid of the mob; but the real cause*
 Cic. CO. *was their unwillingness to concur in granting this*
 Coff. *commission to Pompey. The Consuls carried*
 P. CORNELIUS *the decree with them into the Rostra, and read it*
 LENTULUS *publicly to the people; who on the mention of Ci-*
 SPINTHER, *cero's name, in which it was drawn, gave an uni-*
 Q. CÆCILIUS *versal shout of applause; upon which, at the desire*
 METELLUS *of all the Magistrates, Cicero made a speech to them,*
 NEPOS. *setting forth the reasons and necessity of the de-*
cree, and giving them the comfort of a speedy
relief, from the vigilance and authority of Pom-
pey [m]. The absence however of the Consular
Senators gave a handle to reflect upon the act,
as not free and valid, but extorted by fear, and
without the intervention of the principal members;
but the very next day, in a fuller House, when all
those Senators were present, and a motion was made
to revoke the decree, it was unanimously rejected [n];
and the Consuls were ordered to draw up a law
conformable to it, by which the whole administra-
tion of the corn and provisions of the Republic was
to be granted to Pompey for five years, with a power
of choosing fifteen Lieutenants to assist him in it.

THIS furnished Clodius with fresh matter of abuse upon Cicero: he charged him *with ingratitude, and the desertion of the Senate, which had*

Factum est S. C. in meam sententiam, ut cum Pompeio ageretur, ut eam rem susciperet, lexque ferretur. Ad Att. 4. 1.

[m] Cum abessent Consulares, quod tuto se negarent posse sententiam dicere, præter Messalam & Afranium. Ibid.

Quo S. C. recitato, cum continuo more hoc insulso & novo plausum, meo nomine

recitando dedisset, habui concionem.——Ibid.

[n] At enim liberum Senatus judicium propter metum non fuit. Pro dom. 4.

Postridie Senatus frequens, & omnes Consulares nihil Pompeio postulanti negarunt. Ad Att. 4. 1.

Cum omnes adessent, caput est reserri de inducendo S. C.; ab universo Senatu reclamatum est. Pro dom. 4.

always

always been firm to him, in order to pay his court to a man, who had betrayed him: and that he was so silly, as not to know his own strength and credit in the City, and how able he was to maintain his authority without the help of Pompey [o]. But Cicero defended himself by saying, "that they must not expect to play the same game upon him now that he was restored, with which they had ruined him before, by raising jealousies between him and Pompey: that he had smarted for it too severely already, to be caught again in the same trap; that, in decreeing this commission to Pompey, he had discharged both his private obligations to a friend, and his public duty to the State; that those who grudged all extraordinary power to Pompey, must grudge the victories, the triumphs, the accession of dominion and revenue, which their former grants of this sort had procured to the Empire; that the success of those shewed, what fruit they were to expect from this [p]."

A. Urb. 696.
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NEPOS.

BUT what authority soever this law conferred on Pompey, his creatures were not yet satisfied with it; so that Messius, one of the Tribuns, proposed another, to give him the additional power of raising what money, fleets, and armies he

[o] Tunc es ille, inquit, quo Senatus carere non potuit?—quo restituto, Senatus auctoritatem restitutam putabamus? quam primum adveniens prodidisti. Ib. 2.

Nescit quantum auctoritate valeat, quas res gesserit, qua dignitate sit restitutus. Cur ornatus eum a quo desertus est? Ib. 11.

[p] Desinant homines iisdem machinis sperare me re-

stitutum posse labefactari, quibus antea stantem perculerunt—data merces est erroris mei magna, ut me non solum pigeat stultitiæ meæ, sed etiam pudeat. Ib. 11.

Cn. Pompeio——maxima terra marique bella extra ordinem esse commissa: quarum rerum si quem pœniteat, eum victoriæ populi Romani necesse est pœnitere. Ib. 8.

thought

A. Urb. 696. *thought fit ; with a greater command through all the*
 Cic. 50. *Provinces, than their proper Governors had in*
 Coss. *each.* Cicero's laws seemed modest in comparison
 P. CORNELIUS of Messius's : Pompey pretended to be content
 LENTULUS with the first, whilst all his dependents were
 SPINTHER, pushing for the last ; they expected that Cicero
 Q. CÆCILIUS would come over to them ; but he continued
 METELLUS silent, nor would stir a step farther ; for his affairs
 NEPOS. were still in such a state, as obliged him to act
 with caution, and to manage both the Senate and
 the men of power : the conclusion was, that Cicero's
 law was received by all parties, *and Pompey named*
him for his first Lieutenant, declaring that he should
consider him as a second self, and act nothing without
his advice [q]. Cicero accepted the employment, on con-
dition that he might be at liberty to use or resign it at
pleasure, as he found it convenient to his affairs [r] :
 but he soon after quitted it to his Brother, and chose
 to continue in the city ; where he had the pleasure
 to see the end of his law effectually answered : for
 the credit of Pompey's name immediately reduced
 the price of victuals in the markets ; and his vigor
 and diligence in prosecuting the affair soon esta-
 blished a general plenty.

CICERO was restored to his former dignity,
 but not to his former fortunes ; nor was any satisfac-
 tion yet made to him for the ruin of his

[q] Legem Consules con-
 scripserunt—alteram Messius,
 qua omnis pecuniæ dat potes-
 tatem, & adjungit classem &
 exercitum, & majus imperi-
 um in provinciis, quam sit
 eorum, qui eas obtinent. Illa
 nostra lex Consularis nunc
 modesta videtur, hæc Messii
 non ferenda. Pompeius il-
 lam velle se dicit ; Familia-
 res hanc. Consulares duce
 Favonio fremunt, nos tace-

mus ; & eo magis quod de
 domo nostra nihil adhuc Pon-
 tifices responderunt.—

Ille legatos quindecim cum
 postularet, me principem no-
 minavit, & ad omnia me al-
 terum se fore dixit.—Ad
 Att. 4. 1.

[r] Ego me a Pompeio le-
 gari ita sum passus, ut nulla
 re impedirer, quod ne si vel-
 lem, mihi esset integrum.—
 Ib. 2.

houses

houses and estates : a full restitution indeed had been decreed, but was reserved to his return ; which came now before the Senate to be considered and settled by public authority, where it met still with great obstruction. The chief difficulty was about his *Palatin house* ; which he valued above all the rest, and which Clodius, for that reason, had contrived to alienate, as he hoped, irretrievably ; by demolishing the Fabric, and dedicating a Temple upon the area to the Goddess Liberty : where, to make his work the more complete, he pulled down also the adjoining portico of Catullus, that he might build it up anew, of the same order with his Temple ; and by blending the public with private property, and consecrating the whole to Religion, might make it impossible to separate or restore any part to Cicero ; since a consecration, legally performed, made the thing consecrated unapplicable ever after to any private use.

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THIS portico was built, as has been said, on the spot where Fulvius Flaccus formerly lived, whose house was publicly demolished, for the treason of its master ; and it was Clodius's design to join Cicero's to it under the same denomination ; as the perpetual memorial of a disgrace and punishment inflicted by the people [s]. When he had finished the portico therefore, and annexed his Temple to it, which took up but a small part, scarce a tenth, of Cicero's house, he left the rest of the area void, in order to plant a grove, or walks of pleasure upon it, as has been usual in such cases ; where, as it has been observed, he was prosecuting a particular interest, as well as indulging his malice in obstructing the restitution of it to Cicero.

[s] Ut domus M. Tullii publice constitutæ conjuncta Ciceronis cum domo Fulvii esse videatur. Pro dom. 38.
Flacci ad memoriam pœnæ

A. Urb. 696. THE affair was to be determined by *the college*
 Cic. 50. *of Priests*, who were the Judges in all cases relat-
 Coss. ing to religion: for the Senate could only make
 P. CORNELIUS a provisional decree, *that if the Priests discharged*
 LENTULUS *the ground from the service of religion, then the Con-*
 SPINTHER, *suls should take an estimate of the damage, and make*
 Q. CÆCILIUS *a contract for rebuilding the whole at the public*
 METELLUS *charge, so as to restore it to Cicero in the condition*
 NEPOS. *in which he left it [t].* The Priests therefore of
 all orders were called together *on the last of Sep-*
tember, to hear this cause, which Cicero pleaded
 in person before them: they were men of the
 first dignity and families in the Republic; and
 there never was, as Cicero tells us, *so full an ap-*
pearance of them in any cause, since the foundation
of the City: he reckons up nineteen by name; a
great part of whom were of Consular rank [u].
 His first care, before he entered into the merits
 of the question, was to remove the prejudices,
 which his enemies had been labouring to instil,
 on the account of his late conduct in favour of
 Pompey, by explaining the motives, and shew-
 ing the necessity of it; contriving at the same
 time to turn the odium on the other side, by run-
 ning over *the history of Clodius's Tribune*, and
 painting all its violences in the most lively colours;
 but the question on which the cause singly turn-
 ed, *was about the efficacy of the pretended consecra-*
tion of the house, and the dedication of the Temple:
 to shew the nullity therefore of this act, he en-
 deavours to overthrow the very foundation of it,
 “ and prove Clodius’s Tribune to be original-

[t] Qui si sustulerint reli-
 gionem, aream præclaram
 habebimus: superficiem Con-
 sules ex S. C. æstimabunt.—
 Ad Att. 4. 1.

[u] Nego unquam post sa-

cra constituta, quorum eadem
 est antiquitas, quæ ipsius ur-
 bis, ulla de re, ne de capite
 quidem Virginum Vestalium,
 tam frequens collegium judi-
 casset. De Harusp. resp. 6, 7.

“ ly

“ly null and void, from the *invalidity of his* A. Urb. 696.
 “*adoption*, on which it was entirely grounded :” Cic. 50.
 he shews, “that the sole end of adoption, which Coss.
 “the laws acknowledged, was to supply the P. CORNELIUS
 “want of children, by borrowing them as it LENTULUS
 “were from other families ; that it was an essen- SPINTHER,
 “tial condition of it, that he who adopted had Q. CÆCILIUS
 “no children of his own, nor was in condition METELLUS
 “to have any : that the parties concerned were NEPOS.
 “obliged to appear before the Priests to signify
 “their consent, the cause of the adoption, the
 “circumstances of the families interested in it,
 “and the nature of their religious rites ; that the
 “Priests might judge of the whole, and see that
 “there was no fraud or deceit in it, nor any dis-
 “honour to any family or person concerned :
 “that nothing of all this had been observed in
 “the case of Clodius : that the Adopter was not
 “full twenty years old, when he adopted a Se-
 “nator, who was old enough to be his father :
 “that he had no occasion to adopt, since he had
 “a wife and children, and would probably have
 “more, which he must necessarily disinherit by
 “this adoption, if it was real : that Clodius had
 “no other view, than, by the pretence of an
 “adoption, to make himself a *Plebeian* and *Tri-*
 “*bun*, in order to overturn the State ; that the
 “act itself, which confirmed the adoption, was
 “null and illegal, being transacted while Bibu-
 “lus was observing the Auspices, which was
 “contrary to express law, and huddled over in
 “three hours by Cæsar, when it ought to have
 “been published for three market days succe-
 “sively, at the interval of nine days each [x] :
 “that if the adoption was irregular and illegal,
 “as it certainly was, the Tribunate must needs

[x] Pro dom. 13, 14, 15, 16.

A. Urb. 696. " be so too, which was intirely built upon it :
 Cic. 50. " but granting the Tribunate after all to be valid,
 Coss. " because some eminent men would have it so,
 P. CORNELIUS " yet the act made afterwards for his banishment
 LENTULUS " could not possibly be considered as a law, but
 SPINTHER, " as a *Privilege* only, made against a particular
 Q. CÆCILIUS " person ; which the sacred laws, and the laws
 METELLUS " of the twelve Tables had utterly prohibited :
 NEPOS. " that it was contrary to the very constitution of
 " the Republic, to punish any Citizen either in
 " body or goods, till he had been accused in
 " proper form, and condemned of some crime
 " by competent judges : that *Privileges*, or laws
 " to inflict penalties on single persons by name,
 " without a legal trial, were cruel and pernicious,
 " and nothing better than proscriptions, and of
 " all things not to be endured in their City [y]."
 Then in entering upon the question of his house
 he declares, " that the whole effect of his resto-
 " ration depended upon it ; that if it was not
 " given back to him, but suffered to remain a
 " monument of triumph to his enemy, of grief
 " and calamity to himself, he could not consider
 " it as a restoration, but a perpetual punishment :
 " that his house stood in the view of the whole
 " people ; and if it must continue in its present
 " state, he should be forced to remove to some
 " other place, and could never endure to live in
 " that City, in which he must always see tro-
 " phies erected both against himself and the Re-
 " public : the house of Sp. Melius," says he,
 " who affected a Tyranny, was levelled ; and
 " by the name of *Æquimelium*, given to the place,
 " the people confirmed the Equity of his punish-
 " ment : the house of Sp. Cassius was overturn-

[y] Ib. 17. in privos ho- quid est injustius ? de Legib.
 mines leges ferri noluerunt ; 3. 19.
 id est enim privilegium : quo

" ed

“ ed also for the same cause, and a Temple rais-
 “ ed upon it to Tellus: M. Vaccus’s house was
 “ confiscated and levelled; and, to perpetuate
 “ the memory of his treason, the place is still
 “ called Vaccus’s meadows: M. Manlius like-
 “ wise, after he had repulsed the *Gauls* from the
 “ *Capitol*, not content with the glory of that
 “ service, was adjudged to aim at dominion; so
 “ that his house was demolished, where you now
 “ see the two groves planted: must I therefore
 “ suffer that punishment, which our Ancestors
 “ inflicted as the greatest, on wicked and trait-
 “ erous Citizens; that posterity may consider me,
 “ not as the oppressor, but the author and captain
 “ of the Conspiracy [z]?” When he comes to
 “ speak to the dedication itself, he observes, “ that
 “ the Goddess LIBERTY, to which the Temple
 “ was dedicated, was the known statue of a cele-
 “ brated strumpet, which Appius brought from
 “ *Greece* for the ornament of his *Ædileship*: and
 “ upon dropping the thoughts of that magistra-
 “ cy, gave to his brother Clodius, to be advan-
 “ ced into a Deity [a]: that the ceremony was
 “ performed without any licence or judgement
 “ obtained from the College of Priests, by the
 “ single ministry of a raw young man, the bro-
 “ ther-in-law of Clodius, who had been made
 “ Priest but a few days before; a mere novice
 “ in his business, and forced into the service [b]:
 “ but if all had been transacted regularly, and
 “ in due form, that it could not possibly have
 “ any force, as being contrary to the standing
 “ laws of the Republic: for there was an old
 “ Tribunician law, made by Q. Papirius, which
 “ prohibited the consecration of houses, lands, or
 “ altars, without the express command of the

A. Urb. 696.
 Cic. 50.
 Coss.
 P. CORNELIUS
 LENTULUS
 SPINTHER,
 Q. CÆCILIUS
 METELLUS
 NEPOS.

[z] Pro dom. 37, 38.

[b] Ib. 45.

[a] Ib. 43.

“ people;

A. Urb. 696. “ people; which was not obtained, nor even
 Cic. 50. “ pretended in the present case [*c*]: that great
 Coss. “ regard had always been paid to this law in fe-
 P. CORNELIUS “ veral instances of the gravest kind: that Q.
 LENTULUS “ Marcius, the Censor, erected a Statue of CON-
 SPINTHER, “ CORD in a public part of the City, which C.
 Q. CÆCILIUS “ Cassius afterwards, when Censor, removed into
 METELLUS “ the Senate-house, and consulted the College
 NEPOS. “ of Priests, whether he might not dedicate the
 “ statue, and the house also itself, to CONCORD:
 “ upon which M. Æmilius, the High-Priest,
 “ gave answer in the name of the College, that
 “ unless the people had deputed him by name,
 “ and he acted in it by their authority, they
 “ were of opinion, that he could not rightly de-
 “ dicate them [*d*]: that Licinia also, a vestal
 “ virgin, dedicated an altar, and a little temple,
 “ under the sacred Rock: upon which S. Julius
 “ the Prætor, by order of the Senate, consulted
 “ the College of Priests; for whom P. Scævola,
 “ the High-Priest, gave answer, that what Li-
 “ cinia had dedicated in a public place, without
 “ any order of the people, could not be confi-
 “ dered as sacred: so that the Senate enjoined
 “ the Prætor to see it desecrated, and to efface
 “ whatever had been inscribed upon it: after all
 “ this, it was to no purpose, he tells them, to
 “ mention, what he had proposed to speak to in
 “ the last place, that the dedication was not per-
 “ formed with any of the solemn words and rites
 “ which such a function required; but by the ig-
 “ norant young man before-mentioned, without
 “ the help of his Collegues, his books, or any
 “ to prompt him: especially when Clodius, who
 “ directed him, that impure enemy of all reli-
 “ gion, who often acted the woman among
 “ men, as well as the man among women, hud-

[*c*] Pro. dom. 49.[*d*] Ib. 51, 53.

“ died

“ dled over the whole ceremony in a blundering,
 “ precipitate manner, faultring and confounded
 “ in mind, voice, and speech; often recalling
 “ himself, doubting, fearing, hesitating, and
 “ performing every thing quite contrary to what
 “ the sacred books prescribed: nor is it strange,
 “ says he, that, in an act so mad and villainous,
 “ his audaciousness could not get the better of
 “ his fears: for what Pirate, though ever so
 “ barbarous, after he had been plundering Tem-
 “ ples, when pricked by a dream, or scruple of
 “ religion, he came to consecrate some altar on
 “ a desert shore, was not terrified in his mind, on
 “ being forced to appease that Deity by his pray-
 “ ers, whom he had provoked by his sacrilege?
 “ In what horrors then, think you, must this
 “ man needs be, the plunderer of all Temples,
 “ houses, and the whole City, when for the ex-
 “ piation of so many impieties, he was wickedly
 “ consecrating one single altar [*e*] ? Then after a
 “ solemn invocation and appeal to all the Gods,
 “ who peculiarly favoured and protected that City,
 “ to bear witness to the integrity of his zeal and
 “ love to the Republic, and that, in all his labours
 “ and struggles, he had constantly preferred the
 “ public benefit to his own, he commits the
 “ justice of his cause to the judgement of the
 “ venerable Bench.”

A. Urb. 696.
 Cic. 50.
 Coss.
 P. CORNELIUS
 LENTULUS
 SPINTHER,
 Q. CÆCILIUS
 METELLUS
 NEPOS.

HE was particularly pleased with the compo-
 sition of this speech, which he published imme-
 diately; and says upon it, that if ever he made
 any figure in speaking, his indignation, and the
 sense of his injuries, had inspired him with new
 force and spirit in this cause [*f*]. The sentence
 of

[*e*] Pro dom. 54, 55.

[*f*] Acta res est accurate cendo nobis; & si unquam in di-
 cendo fuimus aliquid, aut
 Vol. II. C etiam

A. Urb. 696. of the Priests turned wholly on what Cicero had
 Cic. 50. alledged about the force of *the Papirian law*; viz.
 Coss. *that if he, who performed the office of consecration,*
 P. CORNELIUS *had not been specially authorized and personally ap-*
 LENTUIUS *pointed to it by the people, then the area in question*
 SPINTHER, *might, without any scruple of religion, be restored to*
 Q. CÆCILIUS *Cicero.* This though it seemed somewhat eva-
 METELLUS
 NEPOS sive, was sufficient for Cicero's purpose; and his
 friends congratulated him upon it, as upon a clear
 victory; while Clodius interpreted it still in favour
 of himself, and being produced into the *Rostra*, by
 his Brother Appius, acquainted the people, *that*
the Priests had given judgement for him, but that
Cicero was preparing to recover possession by force;
and exhorted them therefore to follow him and Ap-
pius in the defence of their liberties. But his speech
 made no impression on the audience; some won-
 dered at his impudence, others laughed at his folly,
 and Cicero resolved not to trouble himself, or the
 people about it, till the Consuls, by a decree of the
 Senate, had contracted for rebuilding the portico of
Catulus [g].

THE Senate met the next day, in a full house,
 to put an end to this affair; when Marcellinus,

etiam si unquam alias fuimus,
 tum profecto dolor & magni-
 tudo vim quandam nobis di-
 cendi dedit. Itaque Oratio
 juventuti nostræ debere non
 potest. Ad Att. 4. 2.

[g] Cum Pontifices decre-
 sent, ita, si neque populi jussu,
 neque plebis scitu, is qui se
 dedicasse diceret, nominatim
 ei rei præfatus esset; ne-
 que populi jussu, neque plebis
 scitu id facere jussus esset, vi-
 deri posse sine religione eam
 partem areæ mihi restitui.

Mihi facta statim est gratu-
 latio: nemo enim dubitat,
 quin domus nobis esset adju-
 dicata. Tum subito ille in
 concionem ascendit, quam
 Appius ei dedit: nunciat jam
 populo, Pontifices secundum
 se decrevisse; me autem vi-
 conari in possessionem venire:
 hortatur, ut se & Appium se-
 quantur, & suam libertatem
 ut defendant. Hic cum etiam
 illi infimi partim admiraren-
 tur, partim irriderent hominis
 amentiam. — Ad Att. 4. 2.

one of the Consuls elect, being called upon to speak first, addressed himself *to the Priests, and desired them to give an account of the grounds and meaning of their sentence*: upon which Lucullus, in the name of the rest, declared, *that the Priests were indeed the Judges of religion, but the Senate of the law; that they therefore had determined only what related to the point of religion, and left it to the Senate to determine whether any obstacle remained in point of law*: all the other priests spoke largely after him in favor of Cicero's cause: when Clodius rose afterwards to speak, he endeavoured to waste the time so, as to hinder their coming to any resolution that day; but after he had been speaking *for three hours successively*, the assembly grew so impatient, and made such a noise and hissing, that he was forced to give over: yet when they were going to pass a decree, in *the words of Marcellinus, Serranus put his negative upon it*: this raised an universal indignation; and a fresh debate began, at the motion of the Two Consuls, *on the merit of the Tribun's intercession*; when after many warm speeches, they came to the following vote; *that it was the resolution of that Senate, that Cicero's house should be restored to him, and Catulus's portico rebuilt, as it had been before; and that this vote should be defended by all the Magistrates; and if any violence or obstruction was offered to it, that the Senate would look upon it, as offered by him, who had interposed his negative*. This staggered Serranus, and the late Farce was played over again; *his father threw himself at his feet, to beg him to desist; he desired a night's time*; which at first was refused, but, on Cicero's request, granted; and the next day he revoked his negative, and, without farther opposition, suffered the Senate to pass a decree, *that Cicero's da-*

A. Urb. 966.
Cic. 50.
Coff.
P. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS
SPINTHER,
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS
NEPOS.

A. Urb. 696. *mage should be made good to him, and his houses re-*
 Cic. 50. *built at the public charge [b].*
 Coss.

P. CORNELIUS
 LENTULUS
 SPINTHER,
 Q. CÆCILIUS
 METELLUS
 NEPOS.

THE Consuls began presently to put the decree in execution; and having contracted for the rebuilding *Catulus's portico*, set men to work, upon clearing the ground, and demolishing what had been built by *Clodius*: but as to *Cicero's* buildings, it was agreed to take an estimate of his damage, and pay the amount of it to himself, to be laid out according to his own fancy: in which *his Palatin house* was valued at sixteen thousand pounds; *his Tusculan* at four thousand; *his Formian* only at two thousand. This was a very deficient and shameful valuation, which all the world cried out upon; for the *Palatin house* had cost him, not long before, near twice that sum: but *Cicero* would not give himself any trouble about it, or make any exceptions, which gave the Consuls a handle to throw the blame upon *his own modesty*, for not remonstrating against it, and seeming to be satisfied with what was awarded: but the true reason was, as he himself declares, that those, who had clipped his wings, had no mind to let them grow again; and though they had been his advocates when absent, began now to be secretly angry, and openly envious of him when present [i].

[b] Ad Att. 4. 2.

[i] Nobis superficiem ædium Consules de consilii sententia æstimarunt H. S. vicies; cætera valde illiberaliter; Tusculanum villam quingentis millibus; Formianum ducentis quinquaginta millibus; quæ æstimatio non modo ab optimo quoque sed etiam a plebe reprehenditur. Dices,

quid igitur causæ fuit? Dicunt illi quidam pudorem meum, quod neque negarim, neque vehementius postularim. Sed non est id; nam hoc quidem etiam profuisset. Verum iidem, mi Pomponi, iidem inquam illi, qui mihi pennas inciderunt, nolunt easdem renasci—Ibid.

BUT

BUT as he was never covetous, this affair gave him no great uneasiness; though, through the late ruin of his fortunes, he was now in such want of money, that he resolved to *expose his Tusculan Villa to sale*; but soon changed his mind and built it up again with much more magnificence than before; and, for the beauty of its situation, and neighbourhood to the City, took more pleasure in it ever after, than in any other of his country seats. But he had some domestic grievances about this time, which touched him more nearly; and which, as he signifies obscurely to Atticus, *were of too delicate a nature to be explained by a letter* [k]: they arose chiefly from the petulant humor of his wife, which began to give him frequent occasions of chagrin; and, by a series of repeated provocations, confirmed in him that settled disgust, which ended at last in a divorce.

As he was now restored to the possession both of his dignity and fortunes, so he was desirous to destroy all the public monuments of his late disgrace; nor to suffer the *law of his exile* to remain, with the other acts of *Clodius's Tribunate*, hanging up in the Capitol, engraved, as usual, on tables of brass: watching therefore the opportunity of Clodius's absence, *he went to the Capitol, with a strong body of his friends, and taking the tables down conveyed them to his own house*. This occasioned a sharp contest in the Senate between him and Clodius, about *the validity of those acts*; and drew Cato also into the debate; who, for the sake of *his Cyprian commission*, *thought himself obliged to defend their legality against Cicero*; which

A. Urb. 696.
Cic. 50.
Coff.
P. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS
SPINTHER,
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS
NEPOS.

[k] Tusculanum proscripti: *μυσικώτερά* sunt. Amamus a suburbano non facile careo.-- *fratre & filia. Ibid.*
Cætera, quæ me sollicitant,

A. Urb. 696. *created some little coldness between them*, and gave
 Cic. 50. no small pleasure to the common enemies of them
 Coff. both [1].

P. CORNELIUS
 LENTULUS
 SPINTHER,
 Q. CÆCILIUS
 METELLUS
 NEPOS.

BUT Cicero's chief concern at present was, how to support his former authority in the City, and provide for his future safety; as well against the malice of declared enemies, as the envy of pretended friends, which he perceived to be growing up afresh against him: he had thoughts of putting in for *the Censorship*; or of *procuring one of those honorary Lieutenancies*, which gave a public character to private Senators; with intent to make a progress through *Italy*, or a *kind of religious pilgrimage to all the Temples, Groves, and sacred places*, on pretence of a vow, made in his exile. This would give him an opportunity of shewing himself every where in a light, which naturally attracts the affection of the multitude, by testifying a pious regard to the favourite superstitions and local religions of the Country; as the Great, in the same Country, still pay their court to the vulgar, by visiting the shrines and altars of the Saints, which are most in vogue: he mentions these projects to Atticus, as designed to be executed in the spring, resolving in the mean while to cherish the good inclination of the people towards him, by keeping himself perpetually in the view of the City [m].

Catulus's portico, and Cicero's house, were rising again apace, and carried up almost to the roof; when Clodius, without any warning, attacked them, *on the second of November, with a band of*

[1] Plutarch in Cic. Dio. p. 100.

[m] Ut nulla re impedirer, quod ne si vellem, mihi esset integrum, aut si comitia Cen-

forum proximi Consules haberent, petere posse, aut Votivam Legationem summissee prope omnium Fanorum, lucorum. Ad Att. 4. 2.

armed men, who demolished the portico, and drove the workmen out of Cicero's ground, and with the stones and rubbish of the place began to batter Quintus's house, with whom Cicero then lived, and at last set fire to it; so that the two Brothers, with their families, were forced to save themselves by a hasty flight. Milo had already accused Clodius for his former violences, and resolved, if possible, to bring him to justice: Clodius, on the other hand, was suing for the *Ædileship*, to secure himself, for one year more at least, from any prosecution: he was sure of being condemned, if ever he was brought to trial, so that whatever mischief he did in the mean time was all clear gain, and could not make his cause the worse [n]: he now therefore gave a free course to his natural fury; was perpetually scouring the streets with his incendiaries, and threatening fire and sword to the City itself, if an assembly was not called for the election of *Ædiles*. In this humor, about a week after his last outrage, on the eleventh of November, happening to meet with Cicero, in the sacred street, he presently assaulted him with stones, clubs, and drawn swords: Cicero was not prepared for the encounter, and took refuge in the Vestibule of the next house; where his attendants rallying in his defence, beat off the assailants, and could easily have killed their Leader, but that Cicero was willing, he says, to cure by diet, rather than Surgery. The day following Clodius

A. Urb. 696.
Cic. 50.
Coff.
P. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS
SPINTHER,
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS
NEPOS.

[n] Armatis hominibus ante diem III. Non. Novemb. expulsi sunt fabri de area nostra, disturbata porticus Catuli—Quæ ad tectum pœne pervenerat. Quinti fratris domus primo fracta conjectu lapidum, ex area nostra, de-

inde jussu Clodii inflammata, inspectante Urbe, conjectis ignibus.— Videt, si omnes quos vult p. am occiderit, nihilo suam causam difficiliorum, quam adhuc sit, in judicio futuram.— Ad Att. 4. 3.

A. Urb. 696. *attacked Milo's house, with sword in hand, and lighted*
 Cic. 50. *Flambeaus, with intent to storm and burn it: but*
 Coss. *Milo was never unprovided for him; and Q.*
 P. CORNELIUS *Flaccus, fallying out with a strong band of stout*
 LENTULUS *fellows, killed several of his men, and would have*
 SPINTHER, *killed Clodius too, if he had not hid himself in the in-*
 Q. CÆCILIUS *ner apartments of P. Sylla's house, which he made*
 METELLUS *use of on this occasion as his Fortrefs [o].*
 NEPOS.

THE Senate met, on the fourteenth, to take these disorders into consideration; *Clodius did not think fit to appear there; but Sylla came, to clear himself, probably from the suspicion of encouraging him in these violences, on account of the freedom which he had taken with his house [p].* Many severe speeches were made, and vigorous counsils proposed; Marcellinus's opinion was, *that Clodius should be impeached anew for these last outrages; and that no election of Ædiles should be suffered, till he was brought to a trial: Milo declared, that as long as he continued in office, the Consul Metellus should make no election; for he would take the auspices every day, on which an assembly could be held; but Metellus contrived to waste the day in speaking, so that they were forced to break up without making any decree.* Milo was as good as his word, and, having gathered a superior force, took care to obstruct the election; though the Consul Me-

[o] Ante diem tertium Id. Novemb. cum sacra via descenderem, insecutus est me cum suis. Clamor lapides, fustes, gladii; hæc improvisa omnia. Discessimus in vestibulum Tertii Damionis: qui erunt mecum facile operas aditu prohibuerunt. Ipse occidi potuit, sed ego diæta curare incipio, chirurgiæ tæ-

det—Milonis domum prid. id. expugnare & incendere ita conatus est, ut palam hora quinta cum scutis homines, eductis gladiis, alios cum accensis facibus adduxerit. Ipse domum P. Syllæ pro castris ad eam impugnationem sumpserat, &c. Ad Att. 4. 3.

[p] Sylla se in Senatu postridie Idus, domi Clodius. Ib.

tellus

tellus employed all his power and art to elude his vigilance, and procure an assembly by stratagem; calling it to one place, and holding it in another, sometimes in the field of Mars, sometimes in the Forum; but Milo was ever beforehand with him; and, keeping a constant guard in the field, from midnight to noon, was always at hand to inhibit his proceedings, by *obnouncing*, as it was called, or declaring, that he was *taking the auspices on that day*; so that the three Brothers were baffled and disappointed, though they were perpetually haranguing and labouring to inflame the people against those, who interrupted their assemblies and right of electing; *where Metellus's speeches were turbulent, Appius's rash, Clodius's furious.* Cicero, who gives this account to Atticus, was of opinion, *that there would be no election; and that Clodius would be brought to trial, if he was not first killed by Milo*; which was likely to be his fate: Milo, says he, *makes no scruple to own it; being not deterred by my misfortune, and having no envious or perfidious counsellors about him, nor any lazy Nobles to discourage him: it is commonly given out by the other side, that what he does, is all done by my advice; but they little know, how much conduct, as well as courage, there is in this Hero* [q].

A. Urb. 696.
Cic. 50.
Coff.
P. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS
SPINThER,
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS
NEPOS.

YOUNG

[q] Egrejus Marcellinus, omnes acres; Metellus calumnia dicendi tempus exemit: conciones turbulentæ Metelli, temerariæ Appii, furiosissimæ Clodii: hæc tamen summa, nisi Milo in Campum obnunciasset, Comitia futura.—Comitia fore non arbitror; reum Publicum, nisi ante occisus erit, fore a Milone puto. Si se

inter viam obtulerit, occisum iri ab ipso Milone video. Non dubitat facere; præ se fert; casum illum nostrum non extimescit, &c.

Meo consilio omnia illi fieri querebantur, ignari quantum in illo heroe esset animi, quantum etiam consilii.—

Ad. Att. 4. 3.

N. B. From these facts it appears, that what is said above,

A. Urb. 696.
Cic. 50.
Coff.

P. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS
SPINTHER,
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS
NEPOS.

YOUNG Lentulus, the son of the Consul, was, by the interest of his father, and the recommendation of his noble birth, *chosen into the College of Augurs* this summer, though not yet *seventeen years old*; having but just changed his puerile for the manly gown [r]: Cicero was invited to the inauguration feast, where, by eating too freely of some vegetables, which happened to please his palate, he was seized with a violent pain of the bowels, and *diarrhœa*; of which he sends the following account to his friend Gallus.

Cicero to Gallus.

“ After I had been labouring for ten days, with
“ a cruel disorder in my bowels, yet could not
“ convince those, who wanted me at the bar,
“ that I was ill, because I had no fever, I ran
“ away to *Tusculum*; having kept so strict a fast
“ for two days before, that I did not taste so
“ much as water: being worn out therefore with
“ illness and fasting, I wanted rather to see you,
“ than imagined, that you expected a visit from
“ me: for my part, I am afraid, I confess, of
“ all distempers; but especially of those, for
“ which the *Stoics* abuse your Epicurus, when
“ he complains of the *strangury* and *dysentery*;
“ the one of which they take to be the effect of

above, of Clodius's repealing the *Ælian and Fufian Laws*, and prohibiting the Magistrates from obstructing the Assemblies of the people, is to be understood only in a partial sense, and that his new law extended no farther, than to hinder the Magistrates from dissolving an Assembly, after it was actually convened

and had entered upon business; for it was still unlawful, we see, to convene an Assembly, while the Magistrate was in the act of observing the heavens.

[r] Cui superior annus idem & virilem patris & prætextam populi iudicio togam dederit. — Pr. Sext. 69. it. Dic. l. 39. p. 99.

“gluttony; the other of a more scandalous in-
 “temperance. I was apprehensive indeed of a
 “*dysentery*; but seem to have found benefit, ei-
 “ther from the change of air, or the relaxation
 “of my mind, or the remission of the disease
 “itself: but that you may not be surpris’d, how
 “this should happen, and what I have been
 “doing to bring it upon me; the sumptuary
 “law, which seems to introduce a simplicity of
 “diet, did me all this mischief. For since our
 “men of taste are grown so fond of covering
 “their tables with the productions of the Earth,
 “which are excepted by the law, they have
 “found a way of dressing mushrooms, and all
 “other vegetables, so palatably, that nothing
 “can be more delicious: I happened to fall
 “upon these at Lentulus’s Augural supper, and
 “was taken with so violent a flux, that this
 “is the first day on which it has begun to give
 “me any ease. Thus I, who used to command
 “myself so easily in *oysters and lampreys*, was
 “caught with *bete and mallows*; but I shall be
 “more cautious for the future: you, however,
 “who must have heard of my illness from Ani-
 “cius, for he saw me in a fit of vomiting, had
 “a just reason, not only for sending, but for
 “coming yourself to see me. I think to stay
 “here till I recruit myself; for I have lost
 “both my strength and my flesh; but, if I once
 “get rid of my distemper, it will be easy, I
 “hope, to recover the rest [s].”

A. Urb. 696.
 Cic. 50.
 Coss.
 P. CORNELIUS
 LENTULUS
 SPINTHER,
 Q. CÆCILIUS
 METELLUS
 NEPOS.

KING

[s] Ep. Fam. 7. 26.

N. B. Pliny says, that the
colum, by which he is sup-
 posed to mean the *Cholic*, was
 not known at Rome, till the
 reign of Tiberius: but the case

described in this Letter seems
 to come so very near to it,
 that he must be understood,
 rather of the name than of
 the thing; as the learned Dr.
 Le Clerk has observed in his
 History

A. Urb. 696.

Cic. 50.

Coff.

P. CORNELIUS

LENTULUS

SPINTHER,

Q. CÆCILIUS

METELLUS

NEPOS.

KING Ptolemy left Rome about this time, after he had distributed immense sums among the Great, to purchase his restoration by a Roman army. The people of *Ægypt* had sent deputies also after him, to plead their cause before the Senate, and to explain the reasons of their expelling him; but the King contrived to get them all assassinated on the road, before they reached the City. This piece of villainy, and the notion of his having bribed all the Magistrates, had raised so general an aversion to him among the people, that he found it adviseable to quit the City, and leave the management of his interest to his Agents. The Consul Lentulus, who had obtained the province of *Cilicia and Cyprus*, whither he was preparing to set forward, was very desirous to be charged with the commission of replacing him on his Throne; for which he had already procured a vote of the Senate: the opportunity of a command, almost in sight of *Ægypt*, made him generally thought to have the best pretensions to that charge; and he was assured of Cicero's warm assistance in soliciting the confirmation of it.

IN this situation of affairs the new Tribuns entered into office: C. Cato, of the same family with his namesake *Marcus*, was one of the number; a bold turbulent man, of no temper or prudence, yet a tolerable speaker, and generally on the better side in politics. Before he had born any public office, he attempted to impeach *Gabinus* of

History of Medicine.—Plin.

l. 26. 1. Le Cler. Hist. par.

2. l. 4. sect. 2 c. 4.

The mention likewise of the *δυστηνία πόνου*, or the Strangury of Epicurus, and

the censure, which the *Stoics* passed upon it, would make one apt to suspect, that some disorders of a venereal kind were not unknown to the ancients.

bribery

bribery and corruption; but not being able to get an audience of the Prætors, he had the hardness to mount the Rostra, which was never allowed to a private Citizen, and, in a speech to the people, declared Pompey Dictator: but his presumption had like to have cost him dear; for it raised such an indignation in the audience, that he had much difficulty to escape with his life [t]. He opened his present magistracy by declaring loudly against King Ptolemy, and all who favoured him; especially Lentulus; whom he supposed to be under some private engagement with him, and for that reason, was determined to baffle all their schemes.

A. Urb. 696.
Cic. 50.
Coff.
P. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS
SPINTHER,
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS
NEPOS.

LUPUS likewise, one of his colleagues, summoned the Senate, and raised an expectation of some uncommon proposal from him: it was indeed of an extraordinary nature; *to revise and annul that famed act of Cæsar's Consulship, for the division of the Campanian lands: he spoke long and well upon it, and was heard with much attention; gave great praises to Cicero, with severe reflections on Cæsar, and expostulations with Pompey, who was now abroad in the execution of his late commission: in the conclusion he told them, that he would not demand the opinions of the particular Senators, because he had no mind to expose them to the resentment and animosity of any; but from the ill humour, which he remembered, when that act first passed, and the favour, with which he was now heard, he could easily collect the sense of the House.*

[t] Ut Cato, adolescens nullius consilii,—vix vivus effugeret; quod cum Gabinium de ambitu vellet postulare, neque Prætores diebus aliquot adiri possent, vel potestatem suam facerent, in concionem adscendit, & Pompeium privatus Dictatorem appellavit. Propius nihil est factum, quam ut occideretur. Ep. ad Quint. Frat. 1. 2.

Upon

A. Urb. 696. Upon which Marcellinus said, *that he must not conclude from their silence, either what they liked or disliked: that for his own part, and he might answer too, he believed, for the rest, he chose to say nothing on the subject at present, because he thought, that the cause of the Campanian lands ought not to be brought upon the stage, in Pompey's absence.*

Cic. 50.
Coff.
P. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS
SPINTHER,
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS
NEPOS.

THIS affair being dropt, Racilius, another Tribun, rose up and renewed the debate about Milo's impeachment of Clodius, and called upon Marcellinus, the Consul elect, to give his opinion upon it; who, after inveighing against all the violences of Clodius, proposed, *that, in the first place, an allotment of Judges should be made for the trial; and, after that, the election of Ædiles; and if any one attempted to hinder the trial, that he should be deemed a public enemy.* The other Consul elect, Philippus, was of the same mind; but the Tribuns, Cato and Cassius, spoke against it, and were for proceeding to an election before any step towards a trial. When Cicero was called upon to speak, *he run through the whole series of Clodius's extravagances, as if he had been accusing him already at the bar, to the great satisfaction of the assembly:* Antistius, the Tribun, seconded him, and declared, *that no business should be done before the trial;* and when the house was going universally into that opinion, *Clodius began to speak, with intent to waste the rest of the day, while his slaves and followers without, who had seized the steps and avenues of the senate, raised so great a noise of a sudden, in abusing some of Milo's friends, that the Senate broke up in no small hurry, and with fresh indignation at this new insult [u].*

THERE

[u] Tum Clodius rogatus —deinde ejus operæ repente
diem dicendo eximere cœpit a Græcostasi & gradibus cla-
morem

THERE was no more business done through the remaining part of *December*, which was taken up chiefly with holy days. *Lentulus* and *Metellus*, whose consulship expired with the year, set forward for their several governments; the one for *Cilicia*, the other for *Spain*: *Lentulus* committed the whole direction of his affairs to *Cicero*; and *Metellus*, unwilling to leave him his enemy, made up all matters with him before his departure, and wrote an affectionate letter to him afterwards from *Spain*; in which he acknowledges his services, and intimates, *that he had given up his brother Clodius, in exchange for his friendship* [x].

CICERO's first concern, on the opening of the new year, was to get the commission, for restoring *King Ptolemy*, confirmed to *Lentulus*; which came now under deliberation: The *Tribun*, *Cato*, was fierce, against restoring him at all, with the greatest part of the Senate on his side; when taking occasion to consult the *Sibylline books*, on the subject of *some late prodigies*, he chanced to find in them certain verses, *forewarning the Roman people, not to replace an exiled King of Egypt, with an army*. This was so pat to his purpose, that there could be no doubt of it's being forged; but *Cato* called up the *Guardians of the books into the Rostra*, to testify the passage to be genuine; where it was publicly read and explained to the people: It was laid also before the Senate, who greedily received it; and, after a grave debate on this scruple of religion, came to a resolution, *that it seemed dangerous to the Republic, that the King*

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

morem satis magnum sustulerunt, opinor in Q. Sestilium & amicos Milonis incitatae; eo metu injecto repente magna querimonia om-

nium discessimus. Ad Quint. Fr. 2. 1.

[x] Libenterque commutata persona, te mihi fratris loco esse duco. Ep. Fam. 5. 3.

should

A. Urb. 697. *should be restored by a multitude* [y]. It cannot be imagined, that they laid any real stress on this admonition of *the Sibyl*, for there was not a man either in or out of the House, *who did not take it for a fiction*: but it was a fair pretext for defeating a project, which was generally disliked: They were unwilling to gratify any man's ambition, *of visiting the rich country of Ægypt, at the head of an army*; and persuaded, that without an army, no man would be solicitous about going thither at all [z].

Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

THIS point being settled, the next question was, *in what manner the King should be restored*; various opinions were proposed; Crassus moved, *that three Embassadors, chosen from those who had some public command, should be sent on the errand; which did not exclude Pompey*: Bibulus proposed, *that three private Senators*; and Volcatius, *that Pompey alone should be charged with it*: but Cicero, Hortensius, and Lucullus, urged, *that Lentulus, to whom the Senate had already decreed it, and who could execute it with most convenience, should restore him without an army*. The two first opinions were soon over-ruled, and the struggle lay between *Lentulus and Pompey*. Cicero, though he had some reason to complain of *Lentulus*, since his return, particularly for the contemptible valuation of his houses, yet for the great part, which he had born, in restoring him, was very

[y] Senatus religionis calumniam, non religione sed malevolentia, & illius regie largitionis invidia comprobatur. — Ep. Fam. 1. 1.

De Rege Alexandrino factum est S. C. *cum multitudine eum reduci, periculosum Reipub. videri*. — Ad Quin. Fr. 2. 2.

[z] Hæc tamen opinio est populi Romani, a suis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum *fidei religionis*, non tam ut te impedirent, quam ut nequis, propter exercitus cupiditatem, Alexandriam vellet ire. Ep. Fam. 1. 4.

desirous

desirous to shew his gratitude, and resolved to support him with all his authority: *Pompey*, who had obligations also to *Lentulus*, acted the same part towards him, which he had done before towards *Cicero*; by his own conduct and professions, *he seemed to have Lentulus's interest at heart*; yet, by the conduct of all his friends, seemed desirous to procure the employment for himself; while the King's Agents and Creditors, fancying that their business would be served the most effectually by *Pompey*, began openly to solicit, and even to bribe for him [a]. But the Senate, through *Cicero's* influence, stood generally inclined to *Lentulus*; and after a debate, which ended in his favour, *Cicero*, who had been the manager of it, happening to sup with *Pompey* that evening, took occasion to press him with much freedom, not to suffer his name to be used in this competition; nor give a handle to his enemies, for reproaching him with the desertion of a friend, as well as an ambition, of engrossing all power to himself. *Pompey* seemed touched with the

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
C. N. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

[a] *Crassus* tres legatos decernit, nec excludit *Pompeium*: censet enim etiam ex iis, qui cum imperio sunt. *M. Bibulus* tres legatos ex iis, qui privati sunt. Huic assentiuntur reliqui consulares, præter *Servilium*, qui omnino reduci negat oportere, & *Volcatium*, qui decernit *Pompeio*.—

Hortensii & mea & *Luculli* sententia—Ex illo S. C. quod te referente factum est, tibi decernit, ut reducas regem.—

Regis causâ si qui sunt qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes rem ad *Pompeium* de-

ferri volunt. Ep. Fam. 1. 1.

Reliqui cum esset in Senatu contentio, *Lentulusne* an *Pompeius* reduceret, obtinere causam *Lentulus* videbatur.—In ea re *Pompeius* quid velit non despicio: familiares ejus quid cupiant, omnes vident. Creditores vero Regis aperte pecunias suppeditant contra *Lentulum*. Sine dubio res remota a *Lentulo* videtur, cum magno meo dolore: quamquam multa fecit, quare si fas esset, jure ei succensere possemus. Ad *Quin.* Fr. 2. 2.

A. Urb. 697. *remonstrance, and professed to have no other thought*
 Cic. 51. *but of serving Lentulus, while his dependents conti-*
 Coss. *nued still to act so, as to convince every body, that he*
 CN. CORNE- *could not be sincere [b].*

LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 MARCEL-
 LINUS,
 L. MARCIUS
 PHILIPPUS. *WHEN Lentulus's pretensions seemed to be*
in a hopeful way, C. Cato took a new and ef-
fectual method to disappoint them, by proposing a
law to the people, for taking away his government
and recalling him home. This stroke surprized
every body; the Senate condemned it as factious;
and Lentulus's son changed his habit upon it, in
order to move the Citizens, and hinder their
offering such an affront to his Father. The
Tribun, Caninius, proposed another law at the
same time, for sending Pompey to Egypt: but
this pleased no better than the other; and the
Consuls contrived, that neither of them should
be brought to the suffrage of the people [c].
These new contests gave a fresh interruption to
Ptolemy's cause; in which Cicero's resolution was,
if the commission could not be obtained for Len-
tulus, to prevent it's being granted at least to Pom-
pey, and save themselves the disgrace of being baffled

[b] Ego eo die casu apud Pompeium cenavi: nactusque tempus hoc magis idoneum, quam unquam antea post tuum discessum, is enim dies honestissimus nobis fuerat in Senatu, ita sum cum illo locutus, ut mihi viderer animum hominis ab omni alia cogitatione ad tuam dignitatem tuendam traducere: quem ego ipsum cum audio, prorsus eum libero omni suspitione cupiditatis: cum autem ejus familiares, omnium ordinum video, perspicio, id

quod jam omnibus est apertum, totam rem istam jampridem a certis hominibus, non invito Rege ipso—esse corruptam. Ep. Fam. 1. 2.

[c] Nos cum maxime consilio, studio, labore, gratia, de causa regia niteremur, subito extorta est nefaria Catonis promulgatio, quæ studia nostra impediret, & animos a minore cura ad summum timorem traduceret. Ibid. 5.

Suspicio per vim rogationem Caninium perlaturum. Ad Quint. 2. 2.

by a competitor [d]: but the senate was grown so sick of the whole affair, that they resolved to leave the King to shift for himself, without interposing at all in his restoration; and so the matter hung; whilst other affairs more interesting were daily rising up at home, and engaging the attention of the City.

A. Urb. 967.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

THE election of *Ædiles*, which had been industriously postponed through all the last summer, could not easily be kept off any longer: the City was impatient for its Magistrates: and especially for the plays and shews, with which they used to entertain them; and several also of the new Tribuns being zealous for an election, it was held at last on the twentieth of January; when Clodius was chosen *Ædile*, without any opposition; so that Cicero began once more to put himself upon his guard, from the certain expectation of a furious *Ædileship* [e].

IT may justly seem strange, how a man so profligate and criminal, as Clodius, whose life was a perpetual insult on all laws, divine and human, should be suffered not only to live without punishment, but to obtain all the honors of a free City in their proper course; and it would be natural to suspect, that we had been deceived in our accounts of him, by taking them from his enemies, did we not find them too firmly supported by facts to be called in question: but a little attention to the particular character of the

[d] Sed vereor ne aut eripiat nobis causa regia, aut deferatur.— Sed si res coget, est quiddam tertium, quod non — mihi displicebat; ut neque jacere Regem pateremur, nec nobis repugnanti- bus, ad eum deferri, ad quem

prope jam delatum videtur.— Ne, si quid non obtinuerimus, repulsi esse videamur. Ep. Fam. 1. 5.

[e] Sed omnia sunt tardiora propter fariosæ Ædilitatis expectationem. Ad Quint. 2. 2.

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS
LIUS LENTULUS
MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS
PHILIPPUS.

man, as well as of the times, in which he lived, will enable us to solve the difficulty. First, the splendor of his family, which had born a principal share in all the triumphs of the Republic, from the very foundation of its liberty, was of great force to protect him in all his extravagances: those, who know any thing of *Rome*, know what a strong impression this single circumstance of *illustrious nobility would necessarily make upon the people*; Cicero calls the nobles of this class, *Prætors and Consuls elect from their cradles, by a kind of hereditary right; whose very names were sufficient to advance them to all the dignities of the state* [f]. Secondly, his personal qualities were peculiarly adapted to endear him to all the meaner sort: his bold and ready wit; his talent at haranguing; his profuse expense; and his being the first of his family, who had pursued popular measures, against the maxims of his Ancestors, who were all stern assertors of *the Aristocratical power*. Thirdly, the contrast of opposite factions, who had each their ends in supporting him, contributed principally to his safety: the Triumvirate willingly permitted, and privately encouraged, his violences; to make their own power not onely the less odious, but even necessary, for controuling the fury of such an incendiary; and though it was often turned against themselves, yet they chose to bear it, and dissemble their ability of repelling it, rather than destroy the man, who was playing their game for them, and by throwing

[f] Non idem mihi licet, quod iis, qui nobili genere nati sunt, quibus omnia populi Romani beneficia dormientibus deferuntur.—In Verr. 5. 70.

Erat nobilitate ipsa, blanda conciliatricula commendatus. Omnes semper boni nobilitati favemus, &c.—Pr. Sext. 9.

the Republic into confusion, throwing it of course into their hands: the Senate, on the other side, whose chief apprehensions were from the Triumvirate, thought, that the rashness of Clodius might be of some use to perplex their measures, and stir up the people against them on proper occasions; or it humoured their spleen at least, *to see him often insulting Pompey to his face* [g]. Lastly, all, who envied Cicero, and desired to lessen his authority, privately cherished an enemy, who employed all his force to drive him from the administration of affairs: this accidental concurrence of circumstances, peculiar to the man and the times, was the thing that preserved Clodius, whose insolence could never have been endured in any quiet and regular state of the City.

By his obtaining *the Ædileship*, the tables were turned between him and Milo: the one was armed with the authority of a Magistrate; the other become a private man: the one freed from all apprehension of Judges and a trial; the other exposed to all that danger from the power of his antagonist: and it was not Clodius's custom to neglect any advantage against an enemy, so that he now accused Milo of the same crime, of which Milo had accused him; *of public violence and breach of the laws, in maintaining a band of Gladiators to the terror of the City*. Milo made his appearance to this accusation, *on the second of*

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coss.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

[g] Videtis igitur hominem per seipsum jam pridem afflictum ac jacentem, perniciosus Optimatum discordiis excitari. — Ne a Republica Reipub. pestis amoveretur, restiterunt: etiam, ne causam diceret: etiam ne privatus esset etiamne in sinu atque in deliciis quidam optimi viri viperam illam venenatam ac pestiferam habere potuerunt? Quo tandem decepti munere? Volo, inquit, esse qui in concione detrahat de Pompeio. — De Harusp. Resp. 24.

A. Urb. 697. February; when Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero
 Cic. 51. appeared with him; and M. Marcellus, though
 Coss. Clodius's *Colleague in the Ædileship*, spoke for him at
 CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
 L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. Cicero's desire; and the whole passed quietly and
 favorably for him on that day. The second
 hearing was appointed *on the ninth*; when Pom-
 pey undertook to plead his cause, but no sooner
 stood up to speak, than Clodius's mob began to
 exert their usual arts, and by a continual clamor of
reproaches and invectives, endeavoured to hinder
 him from going on, or at least from being heard:
 but Pompey was too firm to be so baffled; and
 spoke for near three hours, with a presence of mind,
 which commanded silence in spite of their attempts.
 When Clodius rose up to answer him, Milo's par-
 ty, in their turn, so disturbed and confounded him,
 that he was not able to speak a word; while a
 number of Epigrams and Lampoons upon him and
 his Sister were thrown about, and publicly rehearsed
 among the multitude below, so as to make him quite
 furious: till recollecting himself a little, and find-
 ing it impossible to proceed in his speech, he de-
 manded aloud of his mob, *who it was, that at-*
tempted to starve them by famine? To which they
 presently cried out, Pompey: he then asked,
who it was that desired to be sent to Ægypt?
 They all echoed, Pompey: but when he asked,
who it was that they themselves had a mind to send?
 They answered, Crassus: for the old jealousy
 was now breaking out again between him and
 Pompey; and though he appeared that day on Mi-
 lo's side, yet he was not, as Cicero says, a real well-
 wisher to him.

THESE warm proceedings among the chiefs,
 brought on a fray below, among their partisans;
 the Clodians began the attack, but were repulsed by
 the Pompeians; and Clodius himself driven out of the
 the

the Rostra: Cicero, when he saw the affair proceed to blows, thought it high time to retreat, and make the best of his way towards home; but no great harm was done, for Pompey, having cleared the Forum of his enemies, presently drew off his forces, to prevent any farther mischief or scandal from his side [b].

THE Senate was presently summoned, to provide some remedy for these disorders; where Pompey, who had drawn upon himself a fresh envy from his behaviour *in the Egyptian affair*, was severely handled by Bibulus, Curio, Favonius, and others; Cicero chose to be absent, since he must either have offended Pompey, by saying nothing for him, or the honest party, by defending him. The same debate was carried on for several days; in

A. Urb. 697;
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

[b] Ad diem IIII. Non Febr. Milo affuit. Ei Pompeius advocatus venit. Dixit Marcellus a me rogatus. Honeste discessimus. Productus dies est in IIII. Id. Feb. — A. D. IIII. Idem Milo affuit. Dixit Pompeius, sive voluit. Nam ut surrexit, operæ Clodianæ clamorem sustulerunt: idque ei perpetua oratione contigit, non modo ut acclamatione, sed ut convicio & maledictis impediretur. Qui ut peroravit, nam in eo sane fortis fuit, non est deterritus, dixit omnia, atque interdum etiam silentio, cum auctoritate peregerat; sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius: ei tantus clamor a nostris, placuerat enim referre gratiam, ut neque mente, neque lingua, neque ore consisteret. — Cum omnia

maledicta, tum versus etiam obscenissimi in Clodium & Clodiam dicerentur. Ille furens & exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso, quis esset, qui plebem fame necaret? Respondebant operæ, Pompeius. Quis Alexandriam ire cuperet? Respondebant, Pompeius. Quem ire vellent? Respondebant, Crassum. Is aderat tum Miloni animo non amico, —

Hora fere nono, quasi signo dato, Clodiani nostros consputare cœperunt. Exarsit dolor, urgere illi ut loco nos moverent. Factus est a nostris impetus, fuga operarum. Ejectus de Rostris Clodius. Ac nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba. — Senatus vocatus in Curiam, Pompeius domum. — Ad Quint. Fr. 2. 3.

A. Urb. 697. which Pompey was treated very roughly by the
 Cic. 51. *Tribun Cato; who inveighed against him with great*
 Coss. *fierceness, and laid open his perfidy to Cicero, to*
 CN. CORNE- *whom he paid the highest compliments, and was*
 LIUS LEN- *heard with much attention by all Pompey's enemies.*
 TULUS

POMPEY answered him with an unusual vehemence; and reflecting openly on Crassus, as the author of these affronts, declared, that he would guard his life with more care, than Scipio Africanus did, when Carbo murdered him. — These warm expressions seemed to open a prospect of some great agitation likely to ensue: Pompey consulted with Cicero on the proper means of his security; and acquainted him with his apprehensions of a design against his life; that Cato was privately supported, and Clodius furnished with money by Crassus; and both of them encouraged by Curio, Bibulus, and the rest, who envied him; that it was necessary for him to look to himself, since the meaner people were wholly alienated, the nobility and Senate generally disaffected, and the youth corrupted. Cicero readily consented to join forces with him, and to summon their clients and friends from all parts of Italy: for though he had no mind to fight his battles in the Senate, he was desirous to defend his person from all violence, especially against Crassus, whom he never loved: they resolved likewise to oppose, with united strength, all the attempts of Clodius and Cato against Lentulus and Milo [i]. Clodius, on the other hand, was not less

[i] Neque ego in Senatum, ne aut de tantis rebus tacerem, aut in Pompeio descendendo, nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio, animos bonorum offenderem. Res in posterum diem dilata est. — Eo

die nihil perfectum. — Ad die II. Id. — Cato est vehementer in Pompeium invec-tus, & eum oratione perpetua tanquam reum accusavit. De me multa me invito, cum mea summa laude dixit. Cum illius in me perfidiam increpavit,

less busy in mustering his friends against the next hearing of Milo's cause: but as his strength was much inferior to that of his adversary, so he *had no expectation of getting him condemned, nor any other view, but to teize and harass him* [k]: for after two hearings, the affair was put off by several adjournments *to the beginning of May*; from which time we find no farther mention of it.

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

THE Consul, Marcellinus, who drew his Colleague, Philippus, along with him, was a resolute opposer of *the Triumvirate*, as well as of all the violences of the other Magistrates: for which reason, he resolved to suffer no assemblies of the people, except such as were necessary for the elections into the annual offices: his view was, to prevent Cato's law for recalling *Lentulus*, and the monstrous things, as Cicero calls them, which some were attempting at this time in favour of *Cæsar*. Cicero gives him the character of one of the best Consuls that he had ever known, and blames him only in one thing; for treating Pompey on all occasions too rudely; which made Cicero often absent himself from the Senate, to avoid taking part, either

increpavit, auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondit ei vehementer Pompeius, Crassumque descripsit; dixitque aperte, se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore, quam Africanus fuisset, quem C. Carbo interemisset. Itaque magnæ mihi res moveri videbantur. Nam Pompeius hæc intelligit, mecumque communicat insidias vitæ suæ fieri: C. Catonem a Crasso sustentari; Clodio pecuniam suppeditari: utrumque & ab eo & a Cu-

rione, Bibulo, cæterisque suis obtrectatoribus confirmari: vehementer esse providendum ne opprimatur, concionario illo populo, a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non æquo Senatu, Juventute improba; itaque se comparat, homines ex agris arcessit. Operas autem suas Clodius confirmat. Manus ad Quirinalia paratur. In eo multo sumus superiores, &c. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

[k] Vid. Dio. p. 99.

A. Urb. 697. *on the one side or the other* [l]. For the support therefore of his dignity and interest in the City, he resumed his old task of pleading causes; which was always popular and reputable, and in which he was sure to find full employment. His first cause was the defence of L. Bestia, on the tenth of February, who, after the disgrace of a repulse from the Prætorship in the last election, was accused of *bribery and corruption in his suit for it*; and, notwithstanding the authority and eloquence of his advocate, was convicted and banished. He was a man extremely corrupt, turbulent, and seditious; had always been an enemy to Cicero; and supposed to be deeply engaged in *Catiline's plot*; and is one instance of the truth of what Cicero says, *that he was often forced, against his will, to defend certain persons, who had not deserved it of him, by the intercession of those who had* [m].

Cic. 51.
Coff.
Cn. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

CÆSAR, who was now in the career of his victories in *Gaul*, sent a request to the Senate; *that money might be decreed to him for the payment of his Army; with a power of choosing ten Lieutenants, for the better management of the war, and the conquered Provinces; and that his command*

[l] Consul est egregius Lentulus, non impediēte Collega: sic inquam bonus, ut meliorem non viderim. Dies comitiales exemit omnes.—Sic legibus perniciosissimis obstititur, maxime Catonis—Nunc igitur Catonem Lentulus a legibus removet, & eos, qui de Cæsare monstra promulgarunt.—Marcellinus autem hoc uno mihi minus satisfacit, quod eum nimis aspere tractat, quanquam id Senatu non invito facit: quæ

ego me libentius a Curia, & ab omni parte Reip. subtrahō. Ad Quint. 26.

[m] A. D. III. Id. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud Prætorem Cn. Domitium, in Foro medio, maximo conventu.—Ad Quint. 2. 3.

Cogor nonnunquam homines non optime de me meritos, rogatu eorum qui bene meriti sunt, defendere. Ep. Fam. 7. 1. Vid. Philip. XI. 5. Sallust. 17. 43. Plutar. in Cic.

should

should be prolonged for five years more. The demand was thought very exorbitant; and it seemed strange, that, after all his boasted Conquests, he should not be able to maintain his army without money from home, at a time when the treasury was greatly exhausted; and the renewal of a commission, obtained at first by violence, and against the authority of the Senate, was of hard digestion. But Cæsar's interest prevailed, and Cicero himself was the promoter of it, and procured a decree to his satisfaction; yet not without disgusting the old patriots, who stood firm to their maxim of opposing all extraordinary grants: but Cicero *alleged the extraordinary services of Cæsar; and that the course of his victories ought not to be checked by the want of necessary supplies, while he was so gloriously extending the bounds of the Empire, and conquering nations, whose names had never been heard before at Rome: and though it were possible for him to maintain his troops without their help, by the spoils of the enemy, yet those spoils ought to be reserved for the splendor of his Triumph, which it was not just to defraud by their unseasonable parsimony* [n].

HE might think it imprudent perhaps, at this time, to call Cæsar home from an unfinished war, and stop the progress of his arms in the very height of his success; yet the real motive of his conduct seems to have flowed, not so much from the merits of the cause, as a regard to the

[n] Illum enim arbitrabar etiam sine hoc subsidio pecuniæ retinere exercitum præda ante parta, & bellum conficere posse: sed decus illud & ornamentum Triumphi minuentum nostrâ parsimonia non putavi.

Et quas regiones, quasque gentes nullæ nobis, antea litteræ, nulla vox, nulla fama notas fecerat, has noster Imperator, nosterque exercitus, & populi Romani arma peragrarunt.—De Prov. Consul. XI. 13.—

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

A. Urb. 697. condition of the times, and his own circumstances. For in his private letters he owns, “that
 Cic. 51. “the malevolence and envy of the Aristocrati-
 Coss. “cal chiefs had almost driven him from his old
 CN. CORNE- “principles: and though not so far as to make
 LIUS LEN- “him forget his dignity, yet so as to take a
 TULUS “proper care of his safety; both which might
 MARCEL- “be easily consistent, if there was any faith or
 LINUS, “gravity in the Consular Senators: but they
 L. MARCIUS “had managed their matters so ill, that those
 PHILIPPUS. “who were superior to them in power, were be-
 “come superior too in authority; so as to be able
 “to carry in the Senate, what they could not
 “have carried even with the people without vio-
 “lence: that he had learnt from experience,
 “what he could not learn so well from books,
 “that as no regard was to be had to our safety,
 “without a regard also to our dignity; so the con-
 “sideration of dignity ought not to exclude the
 “care of our safety [o].” In another letter he says,
 “that the state and form of the government was
 “quite changed; and what he had proposed to
 “himself, as the end of all his toils, *a dignity and*
 “*liberty of acting and voting*, was quite lost and
 “gone; that there was nothing left, but either
 “meanly to assent to the few, who governed

[o] Quorum malevolentif-
 fimis obtreccionibus nos sci-
 to de vetere illa nostra, diu-
 turnaque sententia prope jam
 esse depulso: non nos qui-
 dem ut nostræ dignitatis si-
 mus obliti, sed ut habeamus
 rationem aliquando etiam sa-
 lutis. Poterat utrumque præ-
 clare, si esset fides, si gra-
 vitas in hominibus Consula-
 ribus.—

Nam qui plus opibus, ar-

mis, potentia valent, profe-
 cisse tantum mihi videntur
 stultitia & inconstantia adver-
 sariorum, ut etiam auctorita-
 te jam plus valerent.—quod
 ipse, litteris omnibus a pue-
 ritia deditus, experiundo ta-
 men magis, quam discendo
 cognovi;—neque salutis no-
 stræ rationem habendam no-
 bis esse sine dignitate, neque
 dignitatis sine salute.—Ep.
 fam. i. 7.

“all;

“ all; or weakly to oppose them, without doing
 “ any good: that he had dropt therefore all
 “ thoughts of that old Consular gravity and
 “ character of a resolute Senator, and resolved
 “ to conform himself to Pompey’s will; that his
 “ great affection to Pompey made him begin to
 “ think all things right, which were useful to
 “ him; and he comforted himself with reflect-
 “ ing, that the greatness of his obligations would
 “ make all the world excuse him, for defending
 “ what Pompey liked, or, at least, for not op-
 “ posing it; or else, what of all things he most
 “ desired, if his friendship with Pompey would
 “ permit him, for retiring from public business,
 “ and giving himself wholly up to his books [*p*].”

A. Urb. 697.
 Cic. 51.
 Coss.
 CN. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 MARCEL-
 LINUS,
 L. MARCIUS
 PHILIPPUS.

BUT he was now engaged in a cause, in which he was warmly and specially interested, *the defence of P. Sextius*, the late Tribun. *Clodius*, who gave Cicero’s friends no respite, having himself undertaken Milo, assigned the prosecution of Sextius to one of his confidants, M. Tullius Albinovanus, who accused him of *public violence, or breach of peace in his Tribunate* [*q*]. Sextius had

[*p*] Tantum enim animi inductio & mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet, ut, quæ illi utilia sunt, & quæ ille vult, ea mihi omnia jam & recta & vera videantur—Me quidem illa res consolatur, quod ego is sum, cui vel maxime concedant omnes, ut vel ea defendam, quæ Pompeius velit, vel taceam, vel etiam, id quod mihi maxime lubet, ad nostra me studia referam litterarum; quod profecto faciam, si mihi per ejusdem amici-

tiam licebit.—

Quæ enim proposita fuerant nobis, cum & honoribus amplissimis, & laboribus maximis perfuncti essemus, dignitas in sententiis dicendis, libertas in Rep. capeffenda; ea sublata tota: sed nec mihi magis, quam omnibus. Nam aut assentiendum est nulla cum gravitate paucis, aut frustra dissentiendum. Ibid. 8.

[*q*] Qui cum omnibus falsis meæ defensoribus bellum sibi esse gerendum judicaverunt. Pr. Sext 2.

A. Urb. 697. been a true friend to Cicero in his distress; and
 Cic. 51. born a great part in his restoration; but as in
 Coss. cases of eminent service, conferred jointly by
 CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, many, every one is apt to claim the first merit,
 and expect the first share of praise; so Sextius, naturally morose, fancying himself neglected or
 not sufficiently requited by Cicero, had behaved
 L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. very churlishly towards him since his return: but
 Cicero, who was never forgetful of past kindnesses, instead of resenting his perverseness, having heard, *that Sextius was indisposed, went in person to his house, and cured him of all his jealousies, by freely offering his assistance and patronage in pleading his cause [r].*

THIS was a disappointment to the prosecutors: who flattered themselves, that Cicero was so much disgusted, that he would not be persuaded to plead for him; but he entered into the cause with a hearty inclination, and made it, as in effect it really was, his own [s]. In his speech, which is still extant, after laying open the history of his exile, and the motives of his own conduct, through the whole progress of it, he shews; “ that
 “ the only ground of prosecuting Sextius was,
 “ his faithful adherence to him, or rather to the
 “ Republic; that by condemning Sextius, they
 “ would in effect condemn him, whom all the orders of the City had declared to be unjustly expelled, by the very same men, who were now
 “ attempting to expell Sextius: that it was a
 “ banter and ridicule on justice itself, to accuse a

[r] Is erat æger: domum, ut debuimus, ad eum statim venimus; eique nos totos tradidimus: idque fecimus præter hominum opinionem; qui nos ei jure succensere putabant, ut humanissimi gratif-

simique & ipsi & omnibus videremur: itaque faciemus. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

[s] P. Sextius est reus non suo sed meo nomine, &c. Pr. Sext. 13.

“ man

“ man of violence, who had been left for dead
 “ upon the spot, by the violence of those who
 “ accused him; and whose onely crime it was,
 “ that he would not suffer himself to be quite
 “ killed, but presumed to guard his life against
 “ their future attempts.” In short he managed
 the cause so well, that Sextius was acquitted, and
 in a manner the most honorable, *by the unanimous*
suffrages of all the Judges; and with an universal
applause of Cicero's humanity and gratitude [t].

A. Urb. 697.
 Cic. 51.
 Coff.
 CN. CORNELIUS
 LIUS LENTULUS
 MARCELLINUS,
 L. MARCIUS
 PHILIPPUS.

POMPEY attended this trial as a friend to Sextius; while Cæsar's creature, Vatinius, appeared not onely as an adversary, but *a witness against him*: which gave Cicero an opportunity of lashing him, as Sextius particularly desired, with all the keenness of his raillery, *to the great diversion of the audience*, for instead of interrogating him in the ordinary way, about the facts deposed in the trial, he contrived to teize him with a perpetual series of questions, which revived and exposed the iniquity of his factious Tribunate, and the whole course of his profligate life, from his first appearance in public; and, in spite of all his impudence, *quite daunted and confounded him*. Vatinius however made some feeble effort to defend himself, and rally Cicero in his turn; and among other things, reproached him *with the baseness of changing sides, and becoming Cæsar's friend, on account of the fortunate state of his affairs*: to which Cicero briskly replied, though Pompey himself stood by, *that he still preferred*

[t] Sextius noster absolutus est. A. D. II. Id. Mart. & quod vehementer interfuit Reipub. nullam videri in ejusmodi causa diffensionem esse, omnibus sententiis absolutus

est—Scito nos in eo judicio consecutos esse, ut omnium gratissimi judicaremur. Nam in defendendo homine moroso cumulatissime satisfacimus.—Ad Quint. 2. 4.—

the

A. Urb. 697. *the condition of Bibulus's Consulship, which Vatinius*
 Cic. 51. *thought abject and miserable, to the victories and*
 Coss. *triumphs of all men whatsoever.* This speech
 CN. CORNE- *against Vatinius is still remaining, under the title*
 LIUS LEN- *of the interrogation; and is nothing else but what*
 TULUS *Cicero himself calls it, a perpetual invective on the*
 MARCEL- *Magistracy of Vatinius, and the conduct of those*
 LINUS, *who supported him [u].*
 L. MARCIUS
 PHILIPPUS.

IN the beginning of *April*, the Senate granted the sum of three hundred thousand pounds to Pompey, to be laid out in purchasing corn for the use of the City; where there was still a great scarcity, and as great at the same time of money: so that the moving a point so tender could not fail of raising some ill humour in the assembly; when Cicero, whose old spirits seemed to have revived in him, from his late success in Sextius's cause, surprized them by proposing, *that in the present inability of the treasury to purchase the Campanian lands, which by Cæsar's act were to be divided to the people, the act itself should be reconsidered, and a day appointed for that deliberation:* the motion was received with an universal joy, and a kind of tumultuary acclamation: the enemies of the *Triumvirate* were extremely pleased with it, in hopes that it would make a breach between

[u] Vatinius, a quo palam oppugnabatur, arbitrato nostro concidimus, Diis hominibusque plaudentibus.—Quid quæris; Homo petulans, & audax Vatinius valde perturbatus, debilitatusque discessit.—Ibid.

Ego sedente Pompeio, cum ut laudaret P. Sextium introisset in urbem, dixissetque testis Vatinius, me fortuna

& felicitate C. Cæsaris commotum, illi amicum esse cœpisse; dixi, me eam Bibuli fortunam, quam ille afflictam putaret, omnium triumphis victoriisque anteferre.—Tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit, nisi reprehensionem illius Tribunatus: in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate, animoque maximo.—Ep. fam. 1. 9.

Cicero and Pompey; but it served only for a proof, of what Cicero himself observes, *that it is very hard for a man to depart from his old sentiments in politics, when they are right and just* [x].

POMPEY, whose nature was singularly reserved, expressed no uneasiness upon it, nor took any notice of it to Cicero, though they met and supped together familiarly, as they used to do: but he set forward soon after towards *Afric*, in order to provide corn; and intending to call at *Sardinia*, proposed to embark at *Pisa* or *Leghorn*, that he might have an interview with Cæsar, who was now at *Luca*, the utmost limit of his *Gallic Government*. He found Cæsar exceedingly out of humor with Cicero; for Crassus had already been with him at *Ravenna*, and greatly incensed him by his account of Cicero's late motion; which he complained of so heavily, that Pompey promised to use all his authority, to induce Cicero to drop the pursuit of it; and for that purpose sent away an express to *Rome*, to entreat him, not to procede any farther in it till his return; and when he came afterwards to *Sardinia*, where *his Lieutenant, Q. Cicero*, then resided, he entered immediately into an expostulation with him about it, "recounting all his services to his "Brother, and that every thing, which he had "done for him, was done with Cæsar's consent; "and reminding him of a former conversation "between themselves concerning Cæsar's acts,

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

[x] Pompeio pecunia decreta in rem frumentariam ad HS cccc. sed eodem die vehementer actum de agro Campano, clamore Senatus prope concionali. Acriorem causam inopia pecuniæ faciebat, & annonæ caritas.—

Ad Quint. 2. 5.

Nonis April. mihi est Senatus assensus, ut de agro Campano, idibus Maiis, frequenti Senatu referretur. Num potui magis in arcem illius causæ invadere.—Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

A. Urb. 697. “ and what Quintus himself had undertaken for
 Cic. 51. “ his Brother on that head; and as he then
 Coss. “ made himself answerable for him, so he was
 CN. CORNE- “ now obliged to call him to the performance
 LIUS LEN- “ of those engagements: in short, he begged of
 TULUS “ him, to press his Brother to support and de-
 MARCEL- “ fend Cæsar’s interests and dignity, or if he
 LINUS, “ could not persuade him to that, to engage
 L. MARCIUS “ him at least, not to act against them [y].”
 PHILIPPUS.

THIS remonstrance from Pompey, enforced by his Brother Quintus, staggered Cicero’s resolution, and made him enter into a fresh deliberation with himself about the measures of his conduct; where, after casting up the sum of all his thoughts, and weighing every circumstance, which concerned either his own or the public interest, he determined at last to drop the affair, rather than expose himself again, in his present situation, to the animosity of Pompey and Cæsar; for which he makes the following apology to his friend Lentulus: “ that those, who professed the
 “ same principles, and were embarked in the same

[y] Hoc S. C. in sententiam meam facto, Pompeius, cum mihi nihil ostendisset se esse offensum, in Sardiniam & in Africam profectus est, eoque itinere Lucam ad Cæsarem venit. Ibi multa de mea sententia questus est Cæsar, quippe qui etiam Ravennæ Crassum ante vidisset, ab eoque in me esset incensus. Sane moleste Pompeium id ferre constabat: quod ego, cum audissem ex aliis, maxime ex fratre meo cognovi; quem cum in Sardinia paucis post diebus, quam Lu-

ca discesserat, convenisset. Te, inquit, ipsum cupio: nihil opportunius potuit accidere: nisi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris, dependendum tibi est, quod mihi pro illo spondidisti: quid multa? Questus est graviter: sua merita commemoravit: quid egisset sæpissime de actis Cæsaris cum meo fratre, quidque sibi is de me recepisset, in memoriam redegit: seque quæ de mea salute egisset, voluntate Cæsaris egisse, ipsum meum fratrem testatus est.— Ibid.

“ cause

“ cause with him, were perpetually envying and
 “ thwarting him, and more disgusted by the
 “ splendor of his life, than pleased with any
 “ thing which he did for the public service;
 “ that their only pleasure, and what they could
 “ not even dissemble, while he was acting with
 “ them, was to see him disoblige Pompey, and
 “ make Cæsar his enemy; when they, at the
 “ same time, were continually carefing Clodius
 “ before his face, on purpose to mortify him:
 “ that if the Government indeed had fallen into
 “ wicked and desperate hands, neither hopes nor
 “ fears, nor gratitude itself could have prevailed
 “ with him to join with them; but when Pom-
 “ pey held the chief sway, who had acquired it
 “ by the most illustrious merit; whose dignity
 “ he had always favoured from his first setting
 “ out in the world, and from whom he had re-
 “ ceived the greatest obligations; and who, at
 “ that very time, made his enemy the common
 “ enemy of them both; he had no reason to ap-
 “ prehend the charge of inconstancy, if, on
 “ some occasions, he voted and acted a little
 “ differently from what he used to do, in complai-
 “ sance to such a friend: that his union with
 “ Pompey necessarily included Cæsar, with
 “ whom both he and his brother had a friend-
 “ ship also of long standing; which they were
 “ invited to renew by all manner of civilities and
 “ good offices, freely offered on Cæsar’s part:
 “ that, after Cæsar’s great exploits and victories,
 “ the Republic itself seemed to interpose, and
 “ forbid him to quarrel with such men: that
 “ when he stood in need of their assistance, his
 “ Brother had engaged his word for him to
 “ Pompey, and Pompey to Cæsar; and he

A. Urb. 967.
 Cic. 51.
 Coff.
 CN. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 MARCEL-
 LINUS,
 L. MARCIUS
 PHILIPPUS.

A. Urb. 697. “thought himself obliged to make good those
Cic. 51. “engagements [2].
Coff.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. THIS was the general state of his political behaviour: he had a much larger view, and more comprehensive knowledge both of men and things, than the other chiefs of the Aristocracy, Bibulus, Marcellinus, Cato, Favonius, &c. whose stiffness had ruined their cause, and brought them into the present subjection *by alienating Pompey and the Equestrian order from the Senate*: they considered *Cicero's management of the Triumvirate*, as a mean submission to illegal power, which they were always opposing and irritating, though ever so unseasonable; whereas *Cicero thought it time to give over fighting, when the forces were so unequal; and that the more patiently they suffered the dominion of their New Masters, the more temperately they would use it* [a];
being

[2] Qui cum illa sentirent in Repub. quæ ego agebam, semperque sensissent; me tamen non satisfacere Pompeio, Cæsaremque inimicissimum mihi futurum, gaudere se aiebant: hoc mihi dolendum, sed illud multo magis, quod inimicum meum — sic amplexabantur — sic me præsentem osculabantur — Ego si ab improbis & perditis civibus Rempub. teneri videbam — Non modo præmiis — Sed ne periculis quidem ullis compulsus — Ad eorum causam me adjungerem, ne si summa quidem eorum in me merita constarent. Cum autem in Repub. Cn. Pompeius princeps esset — meamque inimi-

cum unum in Civitate haberet inimicum, non putavi famam inconstantiae mihi pertimescendam, si quibusdam in sententiis paulum me immutassem, meamque voluntatem ad summi viri, de meque optime meriti dignitatem aggregassem, &c. Gravissime autem me in hac mente impulit, & Pompeii fides, quam de me Cæsari dederat, & fratris mei, quam Pompeio — Ep. fam. 1. 9.

[a] Neque, ut ego arbitrator, errarent, si cum pares esse non possent, pugnare desisterent. —

Communitata tota ratio est Senatus, judiciorum, Rei totius publicæ. Otium nobis exoptandum

being persuaded, that Pompey, at least, who was the head of them, had no designs against the public liberty, unless he were provoked and driven to it by the perverse opposition of his enemies [b]. These were the grounds of that complaisance, which he now generally paid to him, for the sake both of his own and the public quiet: in consequence of which, when the appointed day came, for considering the case of *the Campanian lands*, the debate dropt of course, when it was understood that Cicero, the mover of it, was absent, and had changed his mind: though it was not, as he intimates, without some struggle in his own breast, that he submitted to this step, which was likely to draw upon him an imputation of levity [c].

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

His daughter, Tullia, having now lived a widow about a year, was married to a second husband, *Furius Crassipes*; and the wedding Feast held at Cicero's house, on the sixth of April: we find very little said, of the character or condition of this Crassipes; but by Cicero's care in making the match, the fortune which he paid, and the congratulation of his friends upon it, he appears to have been a Nobleman of principal rank and dignity [d]. Atticus also, who was about a year

E 3 younger

exoptandum est: quod ii, qui potiuntur rerum, præstituri videntur, si quidam homines patientius eorum potentiam ferre potuerint. Dignitatem quidem illam consularem fortis & constantis Senatoris, nihil est, quod cogitemus. Amissa est culpa eorum, qui a Senatu & ordinem conjunctissimum, & hominem claris-

simum abalienarunt. Ibid. 8.

[b] Ep. Fam. i. 9.

[c] Quod Idibus & postidie fuerat dictum, de Agro Campano actum iri, non est actum. In hac causa mihi aqua hæret.—Ad Quint. 2. 8.

[d] De nostra Tullia — spero nos cum Crassipede confecisse. Ib. 4.

Quod

A. Urb. 697. younger than Cicero, was married this spring to
 Cic. 51. Pilia, and invited him to the wedding [e]. As
 Coff. to his domestic affairs, his chief care at present
 CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. was about rebuilding three of his houses, which were demolished in his exile; and repairing the rest, with that also of his Brother, out of which they were driven in the last attack of Clodius: by the hints, which he gives of them, they all seem to have been very magnificent, and built under the direction of the best Architects: Clodius gave no farther interruption to them, being forced to quit the pursuit of Cicero, in order to watch the motions of a more dangerous enemy, Milo. Cicero however was not without a share of uneasiness, within his own walls; *his Brother's wife and his own, neither agreed well with each other, nor their own husbands*: Quintus's was displeased at her husband's staying so long abroad; and Cicero's not disposed to make hers the happier for staying at home. His Nephew also *Young Quintus*, a perverse youth, spoiled by a mother's indulgence, added somewhat to his trouble; for he was now charged with the care of his education, in the Father's absence; and had him taught, under his own eye, by *Tyrannio*, a Greek Master; who, with several other learned men of that country, was entertained in his house [f].

KING

Quod mihi de Filia & de Crassipede gratularis—Speroque & opto hanc conjunctionem nobis voluptati fore. Ep. Fam. 1. 7.

Viaticum Crassipes præripit. Ad Att. 4. 5.

[e] Prid. Id hæc scripsi ante lucem. Eo die apud Pom-

ponium in ejus nuptiis eram cœnaturus. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

[f] Domus utriusque nostrum ædificatur strenue.—Ib. 4. Longilium redemptorem cohortatus sum. Fidem mihi faciebat, se velle nobis placere. Domus erit egregia. ib. 6.

Quintus

KING Ptolemy's affair was no more talked of; Pompey had other business upon his hands, and was so ruffled by *the Tribun, Cato, and the Consul, Marcellinus*, that he laid aside all thoughts of it for himself, and wished to serve Lentulus in it. The Senate had passed a vote *against restoring him at all; but one of the Tribuns inhibited them from proceeding to a decree*; and a former decree was actually subsisting in favor of Lentulus: Cicero therefore, after a consultation with Pompey, sent him their joint and last advice; "that by his
"command of a Province, so near to *Ægypt*,
"as he was the best judge of what he was
"able to do, so if he found himself Master
"of the thing, and was assured of success, he
"might leave the king at Ptolemais, or some
"other neighbouring City, and procede with-
"out him to *Alexandria*; where, if by the in-
"fluence of his fleet and troops he could ap-
"pease the public dissensions, and persuade the
"Inhabitants to receive their King peaceably,
"he might then carry him home, and so restore
"him according to the first decree; yet without
"a multitude, as our religious men, *says he*,
"tell us, *the Sibyl has enjoined* — that it was the
"opinion however of them both, that people
"would judge of the fact by the event: if he
"was certain therefore of carrying his point, he
"should not defer it; if doubtfull, should not
"undertake it: for as the world would applaud

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
MARCEL-
LINUS,
L. MARCIUS
PHILIPPUS.

Quintus tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc magis animadverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me. — Ib. 4.

A. D. VIII. Id. Apr. Sponsalia Crassipedi præbui. Huic convivio puer optimus,

Quintus tuus, quod perleverit commotus fuerat, desuit. — Multum is mecum sermonem habuit & perhumanum de discordiis mulierum nostrarum — Pomponia autem etiam de te quæstæ est. — Ib. 6.

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
MARCEL-
LINUS,
L. MARCIUS
PHILIPPUS.

“ him, if he effected it with ease, so a miscarriage might be fatal, on account of the late vote of the Senate, and the scruple about religion [g].” But Lentulus, wisely judging the affair too hazardous for one of his dignity and fortunes, left it to a man of a more desperate character, Gabinius; who ruined himself soon after by embarking in it.

THE Tribun Cato, who was perpetually *inveighing against keeping Gladiators*, like so many standing armies, to the terror of the Citizens, had lately *bought a band of them, but finding himself unable to maintain them*, was contriving to part with them again without noise or scandal. *Milo got notice of it, and privately employed a person, not one of his own friends, to buy them; and when they were purchased, Racilius, another Tribun, taking the matter upon himself, and pretending, that they were bought for him, published a proclamation, that Cato's family of Gladiators was to be sold by auction; which gave no small diversion to the City [h].*

MILO'S

[g] Te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere & quid consequi possis, & si res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandriam atque Ægyptum tenere possis, esse & tuæ & nostri imperii dignitatis, Ptolemaide, aut aliquo propinquo loco rege collocato, te cum classe, atque exercitu proficisci Alexandriam: ut cum eam pace, præditiisque firmaris, Ptolemæus redeat in regnum: ita fore, ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum Senatus initio censuit; & sine multitudine reducatur,

quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt. Sed hæc sententia sic & illi & nobis probabatur, ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimatuos videremus — Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te regni illius potiri; non esse cunctandum: si dubium, non esse conandum, &c. Ep. Fam. 1. 7.

[h] Ille vindæx Gladiatorum & Bestiariorum emerat — Bestiarios — Hos alere non poterat. Itaque vix tenebat. Sensit Milo, dedit cuidam non familiari negotium, qui sine

MILO's trial being put off to *the fifth of May*, Cicero took the Benefit of a short vacation, to make an excursion into the Country, and visit his estates and Villa's in different parts of *Italy*. He spent five days at *Arpinum*, whence he proceeded to his other houses at *Pompeia* and *Cumæ*; and stopt a while, on his return, at *Antium*, where he had lately rebuilt his house, and was now disposing and ordering his library, by the direction of Tyrannio; *the remains of which*, he says, *were more considerable than he expected from the late ruin*. Atticus lent him two of his Librarians to assist his own, in taking Catalogues, and placing the books in order; which he calls *the infusion of a soul into the body of his house* [i]. During this tour, his old enemy, Gabinius, the Proconsul of *Syria*, having gained some advantage in *Judæa* against *Aristobulus*, who had been dethroned by Pompey, and on that account was raising troubles in the country, sent public letters to the Senate to give an account of his victory, and to beg the decree of a *Thanksgiving* for it. His friends took the opportunity of moving the affair in Cicero's absence, from whose authority they apprehended some obstruction; but the Se-

A. Urb. 697.
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sine suspitione emeret eam familiam a Catone: quæ simulatque abducta est, Raci- lius rem patefecit, eosque homines sibi emptos esse dixit — & tabulam proscripsit, se familiam Catonianam venditurum. In eam tabulam magni risus consequebantur. — Ad Quin. 2. 6.

[i] Offendes designationem Tyrannionis mirificam in librorum meorum Biblio-

theca; quorum reliquæ multo meliores sunt, quam putaram. Etiam vellem mihi mittas de tuis Librariolis duos aliquos, quibus Tyrannio utatur glutinatoribus, & ad cætera administris — Ad Att. 4. 4.

Postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit, mens addita videtur meis ædibus: qua quidem in re, mirifica opera Dionysii & Menophili tui fuit, Ib. 8.

nate,

A. Urb. 697.
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nate, in a full House, slighted his letters and rejected his suit: an affront, which had never been offered before to any Proconsul. Cicero was infinitely delighted with it, calls *the resolution divine*, and was doubly pleas'd for its being *the free and genuin judgement of the Senate, without any struggle or influence on his part*; and reproaching Gabinus with it afterwards, says, that by this act the Senate had declared, *that they could not believe that he, whom they had always known to be a traitor at home, could ever do any thing abroad, that was usefull to the Republic* [k].

MANY prodigies were reported to have happened about this time, in the neighbourhood of Rome: *horrible noises under ground, with clashing of Arms; and on the Alban hill a little shrine of Juno, which stood on a table facing the east, turned suddenly of itself toward the north.* These terrors alarmed the City, and the Senate consulted the *Haruspices*, who were the public Diviners or Prophets of the State, skill'd in all the Tuscan discipline of interpreting portentous events; who gave the following answer in writing; *that supplications must be made to Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, and the other Gods: that the solemn shews and plays had been negligently exhibited and polluted: sacred and religious places made profane: Embassadors killed contrary to right and law: faith and*

[k] Id. Maiis Senatus frequens divinus fuit in Supplicatione Gabinio deneganda. Adjurat Procilius hoc nemini accidisse. Foris valde plauditur. Mihi cum sua sponte jucundum, tum jucundius, quod me absente, est enim *εὐλαριστὲς*, iudicium, sine oppugnatione, sine gratia no-

stra. — Ad Quin. 2. 8. §. 4. 5.

Hoc statuit Senatus, cum frequens supplicationem Gabinio denegavit — A proditore, atque eo, quem præsentem hostem Reipub. cognosset, bene Rempub. geri non potuisse. — De Prov. Consul. 6.

oaths disregarded: ancient and hidden sacrifices carelessly performed, and profaned—— that the Gods gave this warning, lest by the discord and dissension of the better sort, dangers and destruction should fall upon the Senate and the chiefs of the City; by which means the provinces would fall under the power of a single person; their armies be beaten, great loss ensue, and honors be heaped on the unworthy and disgraced——[l].

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ONE may observe from this answer, that the Diviners were under the Direction of those, who endeavoured to apply the influence of religion to the cure of their civil disorders: each party interpreted it according to their own views: Clodius took a handle from it of venting his spleen afresh against Cicero; and calling the people together for that purpose, attempted to persuade them, *that this divine admonition was designed particularly against him; and that the article of the sacred and religious places referred to the case of his house; which, after a solemn consecration to religion, was rendered again profane; charging all the displeasure of the Gods to Cicero's account, who affected nothing less than a tyranny, and the oppression of their liberties [m].*

CICERO made a reply to Clodius the next day in the Senate; where, after a short and general invective upon his profligate life, “ he leaves
“ him, *he says*, a devoted victim to Milo, who
“ seemed to be given to them by heaven, for
“ the extinction of such a plague; as Scipio
“ was for the destruction of Carthage: he declares the prodigy to be one of the most extraordinary, which had ever been reported to

[l] Vid. Argum. Manutii in Orat. de Harusp. respons. Dio. l. 39. p. 100.
[m] Dio. Ibid.

A. Urb. 697. “ the Senate ; but laughs at the absurdity of ap-
 Cic. 51. “ plying any part of it to him ; since his house,
 Coss. “ as he proves at large, was more solemnly
 C.N. CORNE- “ cleared from any service or relation to religion,
 LIUS LEN- “ than any other house in Rome, by the Judge-
 TULUS “ ment of the Priests, the Senate, and all the
 MARCEL- “ orders of the City [n].” Then running through
 LINUS, “ the several articles of the answer, “ he shews them
 L. MARCIUS “ all to tally so exactly with the notorious acts
 PHILIPPUS, “ and impieties of Clodius’s life, that they could
 “ not possibly be applied to any thing else.—
 “ That as to the sports, said to be negligently
 “ performed and polluted, it clearly denoted the
 “ pollution of the *Megalensian play*; the most
 “ venerable and religious of all other shews;
 “ which Clodius himself, as *Ædile*, exhibited
 “ in honor of the Mother of the Gods; where
 “ when the Magistrates and Citizens were seated
 “ to partake of the diversions, and the usual
 “ proclamation was made, to command all slaves
 “ to retire; a vast body of them, gathered from
 “ all parts of the City, by the order of Clodius,
 “ forced their way upon the stage, to the great
 “ terror of the assembly; where much mischief
 “ and bloodshed would have ensued, if the
 “ Consul Marcellinus, by his firmness and pre-
 “ sence of mind, had not quieted the tumult:
 “ and in another representation of the same
 “ plays, the slaves, encouraged again by Clo-
 “ dius, were so audacious and successfull in a se-
 “ cond irruption, that they drove the whole
 “ company out of the Theater, and possessed
 “ it intirely to themselves [o]: that *as to the*
 “ *profanation of sacred and religious places*; it
 “ could not be interpreted of any thing so aptly,

[n] De Harusp. respon-
 sis. 6.

[o] Ibid. 10, 11, 12, 13.

“ as of what Clodius and his friends had done : A. Urb. 697.
 “ for that, in the house of Q. Seius, which he Cic. 51.
 “ had bought after murdering the owner, there Coff.
 “ was a chappel and altars, which he had lately CN. CORNE-
 “ demolished : that L. Piso had destroyed a cele- LIUS LEN-
 “ brated chappel of Diana, where all that neigh- TULUS
 “ bourhood, and some even of the Senate, used MARCEL-
 “ annually to perform their family sacrifices : LINUS,
 “ that Serranus also had thrown down, burnt, L. MARCIUS
 “ and profaned several consecrated Chappels, and PHILIPPUS.
 “ raised other buildings upon them [p] : that as
 “ to *Embassadors killed contrary to law and right* ;
 “ though it was commonly interpreted of those
 “ from *Alexandria*, yet other Embassadors had
 “ been murdered, whose death was no less of-
 “ fensive to the Gods ; as Theodosius, killed
 “ with the privy and permission of Clodius ; and
 “ Plator, by the order of Piso [q] : as to the vio-
 “ lation of faith and oaths, that it related evidently
 “ to those Judges, who had absolved Clodius ;
 “ as being one of the most memorable and fla-
 “ grant perjuries, which *Rome* had ever known ;
 “ that the answer itself suggested this interpreta-
 “ tion, when it subjoined, *that ancient and oc-*
 “ *cult sacrifices were polluted* ; which could refer
 “ to nothing so properly as to the rites of the
 “ *Bona Dea* ; which were the *most ancient* and
 “ *the most occult* of any in the City ; celebrated
 “ with incredible secrecy to that Goddess, whose
 “ name it was not lawful for men to know ;
 “ and with ceremonies, which no man ever
 “ pried into, but Clodius [r]. Then as to the
 “ warning, given by the Gods, of *dangers, likely*
 “ *to ensue from the dissensions of the principal*

[p] Ibid. 14, 15.

[q] Ibid. 16.

[r] Ibid. 17, 18.

A. Urb. 697. “ *Citizens* ; that there was no man so particularly
 Cic. 51. “ active, in promoting those dissensions, as Clo-
 Coss. “ dius ; who was perpetually enflaming one side
 CN. CORNE- “ or the other ; now pursuing popular, now
 LIUS LEN- “ Aristocratical measures ; at one time a favorite
 TULUS “ of the Triumvirate, at another of the Senate ;
 MARCEL- “ whose credit was wholly supported by their
 LINUS, “ quarrels and animosities. He exhorts them
 L. MARCIUS “ therefore in the conclusion, to beware of falling
 PHILIPPUS. “ into those miseries, of which the Gods so evi-
 “ dently forewarned them ; and to take care
 “ especially, that the form of the Republic was
 “ not altered ; since all civil contests between great
 “ and powerfull Citizens must necessarily end,
 “ either in an universal destruction, or a tyran-
 “ ny of the Conqueror : that the state was now
 “ in so tottering a condition, that nothing could
 “ preserve it but their concord : that there was
 “ no hope of it’s being better, while Clodius re-
 “ mained unpunished : and but one degree left
 “ of being worse, by being wholly ruined and
 “ enslaved ; for the prevention of which, the
 “ Gods had given them this remarkable admo-
 “ nition ; for they were not to believe, what
 “ was sometimes represented on the stage, that
 “ any God ever descended from heaven to con-
 “ verse familiarly with men ; but that these ex-
 “ traordinary sounds and agitations of the world,
 “ the air, the elements, were the onely voice
 “ and speech, which heaven made use of ; that
 “ these admonished them of their danger, and
 “ pointed out the remedy ; and that the Gods,
 “ by intimating so freely the way of their safety,
 “ had shewn, how easy it would be to pacify
 “ them, by pacifying onely their own animosi-
 “ ties and discords among themselves.”

ABOUT the middle of the summer, and before the time of chusing new Consuls, which was commonly in *August*, the Senate began to deliberate on the *Provinces*, which were to be assigned to them at the expiration of their office. *The Consular Provinces*, about which the debate singly turned, were *the two Gauls*, which Cæsar now held; *Macedonia*, which Piso; and *Syria*, which Gabinius possessed. All who spoke before Cicero, excepting Servilius, were for taking one, or both the Gauls from Cæsar; which was what the Senate generally desired: but when it came to Cicero's turn, he gladly laid hold on the occasion to revenge himself on Piso and Gabinius; and exerted all his authority, to get them recalled with some marks of disgrace, and their Governments assigned to the succeeding Consuls: but as for Cæsar, his opinion was, *that his command should be continued to him, till he had finished the war, which he was carrying on with such success, and settled the conquered countries.* This gave no small offence; and the Consul Philippus could not forbear interrupting and reminding him, *that he had more reason to be angry with Cæsar, than with Gabinius himself; since Cæsar was the author and raiser of all that storm, which had oppressed him.* But Cicero replied, *that, in this vote, he was not pursuing his private resentment, but the public good, which had reconciled him to Cæsar; and that he could not be an enemy to one who was deserving so well of his country: that a year or two more would complete his conquests, and reduce all Gaul to a state of peacefull subjection: that the cause was widely different between Cæsar and the other two; that Cæsar's administration was beneficial, prosperous, glorious to the Republic; theirs, scandalous, ignominious, hurtfull to their subjects, and contemptible*

A. Urb. 697.
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A. Urb. 697. *contemptible to their enemies.* — In short, he managed the debate so, that the Senate came fully into his Sentiments, and decreed *the revocation of Piso and Gabinius* [s].

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HE was now likewise engaged in pleading two considerable causes at the Bar; the one in defence of Cornelius Balbus, the other of M. Cælius. Balbus was a native of *Gades in Spain*, of a splendid family in that City, who, for his fidelity and services to the Roman Generals in that Province, and especially *in the Sertorian war*, had the freedom of Rome conferred upon him by Pompey, in virtue of a law, which authorised him to grant it to as many as he thought proper. But Pompey's act was now called in question, as originally null and invalid, on a pretence, *that the City of Gades was not within the terms of that alliance and relation to Rome, which rendered its Citizens capable of that privilege.* Pompey and Crassus were his advocates, and, at their desire, Cicero also; who had *the third place*, or post of honor assigned to him, to give the finishing hand

[s] Itaque ego idem, qui nunc Consulibus iis, qui designati erunt, Syriam, Macedoniamque decerno — Quod si essent illi optimi viri, tamen ego mea sententia C. Cæsari nondum succedendum putarem. Qua de re dicam, Patres conscripti, quod sentio, atque illam interpellationem familiarissimi mei, qua paullo ante interrupta est oratio mea, non pertimescam. Negat me vir optimus inimiciorem debere esse Gabinio, quam Cæsari; omnem enim illam

tempestatem, cui cesserim, Cæsare impulsore atque adiutore esse excitatam. Cui si primum sic respondeam, me communis utilitatis habere rationem, non doloris mei. — Hic me meus in Rempub. animus pristinus ac perennis, cum C. Cæsare reducit, reconciliat, restituit in gratiam. Quod volent denique homines existiment, nemini ego possum esse bene de Republica merenti non amicus. — Vid. Orat. de Provin. Conf. 8, 9, &c.

to the cause [t]. The prosecution was projected, not so much out of enmity to Balbus, as to his Patrons Pompey and Cæsar; by whose favor he had acquired great wealth and power; being at this time *General of the Artillery* to Cæsar, and the principal manager or steward of all his affairs. The Judges gave sentence for him, and confirmed his right to the City; from which foundation he was raised afterwards, by *Augustus*, to the *Consulate* itself: his Nephew also, *Young Balbus*, who was made free with him at the same time, obtained the honor of a triumph, for his victories over the *Garamantes*; and, as Pliny tells us, they were the only instances of *Foreigners*, and adopted *Citizens*, who had ever advanced themselves to either of those honours in Rome [u].

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
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L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

CÆLIUS, whom he next defended, was a young Gentleman of *Equestrian* rank, of great parts and accomplishments, trained under the discipline of Cicero himself; to whose care he was committed by his Father, upon his first introduction into the Forum: before he was of age to hold any Magistracy, he had distinguished himself by two public impeachments; the one of C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the Consulship, for conspiring against the state; the other of L. Atratinus, for bribery and corruption. Atratinus's

[t] Quo mihi difficilior est hic extremus perorandi locus—Sed mos est gerendus, non modo Cornelio, cujus ego voluntati in ejus periculis nullo modo deesse possum; sed etiam Cn. Pompeio. — Pr. Balbo. 1. 2, &c.

[u] Fuit & Balbus Cornelius major Consul — Primus externorum, atque etiam in

oceanis genitorum usus illo honore.—Hist. N. 7. 43.

Garama caput Garamantum: omnia armis Romanis superata, & a Cornelio Balbo triumphata, uno omnium externo curru & Quiritium jure donato: quippe Gadibus nato Civitas Rom. cum Balbo majore patruo data est. Ib. 5. 5.

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

tinus's son was now revenging his Father's quarrel, and *accused Cælius of public violence, for being concerned in the assassination of Dio, the chief of the Alexandrian embassy; and of an attempt to poison Clodia, the sister of Clodius*: he had been this Lady's Gallant: whose resentment for her favors slighted by him, was the real source of all his trouble. In this speech Cicero treats *the character and gallantries of Clodia, her Commerce with Cælius, and the gaieties and licentiousness of youth, with such a vivacity of wit and humor, that makes it one of the most entertaining, which he has left to us. Cælius, who was truly a Libertine, lived on the Palatin hill, in a house which he hired of Clodius, and, among the other proofs of his extravagance, it was objected, that a young man, in no public employment, should take a separate house from his Father, at the yearly rent of two hundred and fifty pounds*: to which Cicero replied, *that Clodius, he perceived, had a mind to sell his house, by setting the value of it so high; whereas, in truth, it was but a little paultry dwelling, of small rent, scarce above eighty pounds per annum* [x]. Cælius was acquitted, and ever after professed the highest regard for Cicero; with whom he held a correspondence of Letters, which will give us occasion to speak more of him, in the sequel of the History.

CICERO seems to have composed *a little Poem* about this time, in compliment to Cæsar: and excuses his not sending it to Atticus, “*because Cæsar pressed to have it, and he had reserved no copy*: though, to confess the truth,

[x] Sumptus unius generis objectus est, habitationis: triginta millibus dixisti eum habitare. Nunc demum intelligo P. Clodii insulam esse venalem, cujus hic in ædiculis habitet, decem, ut opinor, millibus.—Pro Cælio. 7.

"*he says*, he found it very difficult to digest the
 "meannefs of recanting his old principles. But
 "adieu, *says he*, to all right, true, honeft councils:
 "it is incredible, what perfidy there is in thofe,
 "who want to be Leaders, and who really
 "would be fo, if there was any faith in them.
 "I felt what they were to my coft, when I was
 "drawn in, deserted, and betrayed, by them:
 "I refolved ftill to act on with them in all
 "things; but found them the fame as before;
 "till by your advice I came at laft to a better
 "mind. You will tell me, that you advifed me
 "indeed to act, but not to write; 'tis true; but
 "I was willing to put myfelf under a neceffity of
 "adhering to my new alliance, and preclude the
 "poffibility of returning to thofe, who inftead
 "of pitying me, as they ought, never ceafe en-
 "vying me. — But fince thofe, who have no
 "power, will not love me, my bufinefs is to
 "acquire the love of thofe who have: you will
 "fay, I wifh that you had done it long ago; I
 "know you wifhed it; and I was a mere Afs for
 "not minding you [y]."

A. Urb. 967.
 Cic. 51.
 Coff.
 CN. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 MARCEL-
 LINUS,
 L. MARCIUS
 PHILIPPUS.

IN

[y] Urgebar ab eo, ad quem mifi, & non habebam exemplar. quid? etiam, (dudum circumrodo, quod devorandum eft) fubturpicula mihi videbatur *παλινοδία*; fed valeant recta, vera, honefta confilia. Non eft credibile, quæ fit perfidia in iſtis principibus, ut volunt eſſe, & ut eſſent, ſi quicquam haberent fidei. Senferam, noram, inductus, relictus, projectus ab iis: tamen hoc erat in animo, ut cum iis in Rep. conſenti-

rem. Iidem erant, qui fuerant. Vix aliquando te auctore reſpivi, Dices, ea te monuiſſe, quæ facerem, non etiam ut ſcriberem. Ego mehercule mihi neceſſitatem volui imponere hujus novæ conjunctionis, ne qua mihi liceret labi ad illos, qui etiam tum cum miſereri mei debent, non deſinunt invidere. Sed tamen modici fuimus *ὑποθῆσαι*, ut ſcripſi — Sed quoniam qui nihil poſſunt, ii me amare nolunt,

A. Urb. 697. In this year also, Cicero wrote that celebrated
 Cic. 51. letter to Lucceius, in which he presses him, to
 Coss. attempt the history of his transactions: Lucceius
 CN. CORNE- was a man of eminent learning and abilities, and
 LIUS LEN- had just finished *the history of the Italick and Ma-*
 TULUS *rian civil wars*; with intent to carry it down
 MARCEL- through his own times, and, in the general re-
 LINUS, lation, to include, as he had promised, a parti-
 L. MARCIUS cular account of Cicero's acts: but Cicero, who
 PHILIPPUS. was pleased with his stile and manner of writing,
 labors to engage him in this letter, to postpone
 the design of his continued history, and enter di-
 rectly on that separate period, "from the be-
 "ginning of his Consulship to his restoration;
 "comprehending Catiline's conspiracy, and his
 "own exil." He observes, "that this short
 "interval was distinguished with such a variety
 "of incidents, and unexpected turns of fortune,
 "as furnished the happiest materials, both to
 "the skill of the writer, and the entertainment
 "of the reader; that, when an author's atten-
 "tion was confined to a single and select subject,
 "he was more capable of adorning it, and dis-
 "playing his talents, than in the wide and dif-
 "fusive field of general history; but if he did
 "not think the facts themselves worth the pains
 "of adorning, that he would yet allow so much
 "to friendship, to affection, and even to that
 "favor, which he had so laudably disclaimed in
 "his Prefaces, as not to confine himself scrupu-
 "lously to the strict laws of history, and the
 "rules of truth.— That, if he would under-
 "take it, he would supply him with some rough

demus operam, ut ab iis, qui num fuisse.—Ad Att. 4. 5.
 possunt, diligamur. dices, vel Scribis poema ab eo no-
 lem jam pridem. Scio te vo- strum probari.—Ad Quint 2.
 luisse, & me asinum germa- 15.

"memoris,

“ memoirs, or commentaries, for the foundation
 “ of his work ; if not, that he himself should be
 “ forced to do, what many had done before
 “ him, write his own life ; a task liable to
 “ many exceptions and difficulties ; where a
 “ man would necessarily be restrained by mo-
 “ desty, on the one hand, or partiality on the
 “ other, either for blaming, or praising him-
 “ self, so much as he deserved, &c. [z].”

A. Urb. 697.
 Cic. 51.
 Coss.
 CN. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 MARCEL-
 LINUS,
 L. MARCIUS
 PHILIPPUS,

THIS letter is constantly alledged as a proof of Cicero's vanity, and excessive love of praise : but we must consider it as written, not by a philosopher, but a statesman, conscious of the greatest services to his country, for which he had been barbarously treated ; and, on that account, the more eager to have them represented in an advantageous light : and impatient to taste some part of that glory when living, which he was sure to reap from them when dead : and as to the passage which gives the offence, where he presses his friend *to exceed even the bounds of truth in his praises* : it is urged onely, we see, conditionally, and upon an absurd or improbable supposition, *that Lucceius did not think the acts themselves really laudable, or worth praising* : but whatever exceptions there may be to the morality, there can be none to the elegance and composition of the letter ; which is filled with a variety of beautiful sentiments, illustrated by examples, drawn from a perfect knowledge of history ; so that it is justly ranked among the capital pieces of the epistolary kind, which remain to us from antiquity. Cicero had employed more than ordinary pains upon it, and was pleased with his success in it : for he mentions it to Atticus with no small satisfac-

[z] Ep. fam. 12.

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coss.
Cn. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
MARCEL-
LINUS,
L. MARCIUS
PHILIPPUS.

tion, and wished him to get a copy of it from their friend Luceius. The effect of it was, that Luceius *undertook what Cicero desired*, and probably made some progress in it, since Cicero sent him *the memoirs*, which he promised, and Luceius lived many years after, in an uninterrupted friendship with him, though neither this, nor any other of his writings had the fortune to be preserved to succeeding ages [a].

ALL people's eyes and inclinations began now to turn towards Cæsar, who by the eclat of his victories, seemed to rival the fame of Pompey himself; and, by his address and generosity, gained ground upon him daily in authority and influence in public affairs. He spent the winter at *Luca*; whither a vast concourse of all ranks resorted to him from *Rome*. Here Pompey and Crassus were again made friends by him; and a project formed, *that they should jointly seize the Consulship for the next year, though they had not declared themselves Candidates, within the usual time*. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a professed enemy, was one of the competitors; who thinking himself sure of success, could not forbear bragging, *that he would effect, when Consul, what he could not do when Prætor, rescind Cæsar's acts, and recall him from his Government* [b]; which made them resolve at all hazards to defeat him.

[a] Epistolam, Luceio quam misi—fac ut ab eo sumas; valde bella est; eumque ut adproperet adhorteris, & quod mihi se ita facturum rescripsit, agas gratias. Ad Att. 4. 6.

Tu Luceio librum nostrum dabis. Ibid. 11.

[b] Sed cum L. Domitius

consultatus Candidatus palam minaretur, Consulem se effecturum, quod Prætor nequisset, adempturum que ei exercitus. Crassum Pompeiumque in urbem Provinciæ suæ Lucam extractos compulit, ut detrudendi Domitii causa alterum Consulatum peterent—Sueton. J. Cæs. 24.

What

What greatly favored their design was the obstinacy of the Tribun, C. Cato; who, to revenge himself on Marcellinus, for not suffering him to hold *any assemblies of the people, for promulgating his laws, would not suffer the Consuls to hold any, for the choice of the Magistrates* [c]. The Triumvirate supported him in this resolution till the year expired, and the Government fell into an *Inter-regnum*; when by faction and violence, and the terror of troops poured into the City, *they extorted the Consulship out of the hands of Domitius, and secured it to themselves* [d]. This made Pompey generally odious, who, in all this height of greatness, could not defend himself from the perpetual raileries and insults of his adversaries; which yet he bore with singular temper and patience. Marcellinus was constantly alarming the City with the danger of his power; and as he was haranguing one day on that subject, being encouraged by a general acclamation of the people; *cry out, Citizens, says he, cry out while you may; for it will not be long in your power to do so with safety* [e]. Cn. Piso also, a Young Nobleman, who had impeached Manilius Crispus, a man of Prætorian rank and notoriously guilty, being provoked by Pompey's protection of him, turned his attack against Pompey himself, and charged him with many crimes against the State; being asked therefore by Pompey, why he did not

A. Urb. 697.
Cic. 51.
Coff.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS,
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

[c] Consul—dies comitiales exemit omnes — C. Cato concionatus est, comitia haberi non siturum, si sibi cum populo agendi dies essent exempti. Ad Quint. 2. 6.

[d] Quid enim hoc miserius, quam eum, qui tot annos, quod habet, designatus

Consul fuerit, Consulem fieri non posse? &c. Ad Att. 4. 8. Vid. Dio. p. 103.

[e] Acclamate, inquit, Quirites, acclamate, dum licet: jam enim vobis impune facere non licebit.—Val. Max. 6. 2.

A. Urb. 698. chuse to impeach him rather than the Criminal,
 Cic. 52. he replied briskly, *that if he would give bail to*
 Coss. *stand a trial, without raising a civil war, he would*
 CN. POMPEI- *soon bring him before his Judges [f].*
 US MAG-
 NUS II.

M. LICINIUS DURING the continuance of these tumults, oc-
 CRASSUS II. cased by the election of the new Consuls, Ci-
 cero retired into the country; where he staid to
 the beginning of May, much out of humor, and
 disgusted both with the Republic and himself.
 Atticus's constant advice to him was, *to consult his*
safety and interest, by uniting himself with the men
of power; and they, on their part, were as con-
 stantly inviting him to it, by all possible assu-
 rances of their affection: but in his answers to
 Atticus he observes; "that their two cases
 "were very different; that Atticus, having no
 "peculiar character, suffered no peculiar indig-
 "nity; nothing but what was common to all
 "the Citizens; whereas his own condition was
 "such, that if he spoke what he ought to do, he
 "should be looked upon as a madman; if what
 "was usefull onely to himself, as a slave; if no-
 "thing at all, as quite oppressed and subdued:
 "that his uneasiness was the greater, because he
 "could not shew it without being thought un-
 "gratefull—shall I withdraw myself then, *says*
 "*he*, from business, and retire to the port of
 "ease? That will not be allowed to me. Shall
 "I follow these Leaders to the wars, and, after
 "having refused to command, submit to be
 "commanded? I will do so; for I see that it is
 "your advice, and wish that I had always fol-

[f] Da, inquit, prædes quam de Manilii capite, in
 Reip. te, si postulatus fueris, concilium judices mittam.
 civile bellum non excitatu- Ibid.
 rum; etiam de tuo prius,

"lowed

“lowed it: or shall I resume my post, and enter
“again into affairs? I cannot persuade myself to
“that, but begin to think Philoxenus in the
“right; who chose to be carried back to pri-
“son rather than commend the Tyrant’s
“verses. This is what I am now meditating;
“to declare my dislike at least of what they are
“doing [g].”

A. Urb. 698.
Cic. 52.
Coff.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS II.
M. LICINIUS
CRASSUS II.

SUCH were the agitations of his mind at this time, as he frequently signifies in his letters: he was now at one of his Villa’s, on the delightfull shore of *Baia*, the chief place of resort and pleasure for the great and rich; *Pompey came thither in April, and no sooner arrived, than he sent him his compliments, and spent his whole time with him: they had much discourse on public affairs, in which Pompey expressed great uneasiness, and owned himself dissatisfied with his own part in them; but Cicero, in his account of the conversation, intimates some suspicion of his sincerity [b].*

In

[g] Tu quidem, etsi es natura πολιτικός, tamen nullam habes propriam servitutem: communi frueris nomine. Ego vero, qui, si loquor de Repub. quod oportet, insanus, si quod opus est, servus existimor, si taceo, oppressus & captus; quo dolore esse debeo? quo sum scilicet hoc etiam acriore, quod ne dolere quidem possum, ut non ingratus videar. Quid si cessare libeat & in otii portum confugere? Nequicquam. Immo etiam in bellum & in castra: ergo erimus ὁπαδοί, qui ταγοί esse noluimus? Sic faciendum est; tibi enim ipsi,

cui utinam semper paruissem, sic video placere. Reliqui est, Σπαρταν ἐλαχες, ταύταν κῆσμεν; non mehercule possum: & Philoxeno ignosco, qui reduci in carcerem maluit. Veruntamen id ipsum mecum in his locis commentor, ut ista improbem. — Ad Att. 4. 9.

The story of Dionysius the Tyrant of Syracuse, and Philoxenus the Poet, is told by Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 15. p. 331.

[b] Pompeius in Cumanum Parilibus venit: misit ad me statim qui salutem nuntiaret: ad eum postridie mane

A. Urb. 698. In the midst of this company and diversion, Cicero's entertainment was in his studies; for he never resided any where without securing to himself the use of a good library: here he had the command of Faustus's, the son of Sylla, and son-in-law of Pompey; one of the best collections of Italy; gathered from the spoils of Greece, and especially of Athens, from which Sylla brought away many thousand volumes. He had no body in the house with him, but Dionysius, a learned Greek slave, whom Atticus had made free, and who was entrusted with the instruction of the two young Cicero's, the son and the Nephew: with this companion, he was devoting books, since the wretched state of the public had deprived him, as he tells us, of all other pleasures. I had much rather, says he to Atticus, be sitting on your little bench, under Aristotle's picture, than in the Curule chairs of our great ones; or taking a turn with you in your walks, than with him, whom it must, I see, be my fate to walk with: as for the success of that walk, let fortune look to it, or some God, if there be any, who takes care of us [i]. He mentions in

mane vadebam — Ad Att. 4. x.

Nos hic cum Pompeio fuimus: sane sibi displicens; ut loquebatur; sic est enim in hoc homine dicendum. — In nos vero suavissime effusus: venit etiam ad me in Cumam a se — Ib. 8.

[i] Ego hic pascor Bibliotheca Fausti. Fortasse tu putabas his rebus Puteolanis & Lucrinensibus. Ne ista quidem desunt. Sed mehercule a cæteris oblectationibus defector & voluptatibus propter

Rempub. sic literis sustentor & recreor; maloque in illa tua sedecula, quam habes sub imagine Aristotelis, federe, quam in istorum sella curuli, tecumque apud te ambulare, quam cum eo, quocum video esse ambulandum. Sed de illa ambulatione fors videret, aut si qui est, qui curet Deus. Ib. 10.

Nos hic voramus literas cum homine mirifico, ita mehercule sentio, Dionysio. Ib. 11.

the same letter a current report at *Puteoli*, that *King Ptolemy was restored; and desires to know, what account they had of it at Rome*: the report was very true; for *Gabinus*, tempted by *Ptolemy's* gold, and the plunder of *Ægypt*; and encouraged also, as some write, *by Pompey himself*, undertook to replace him on the Throne with *his Syrian Army*; which he executed with a high hand, and the destruction of all the King's enemies; in open defiance of the authority of the Senate, and the direction of the Sibyl: this made a great noise at *Rome*, and irritated the people to such a degree, that they resolved to make him feel their displeasure for it very severely, at his return [k].

HIS Collegue *Piso* came home the first from his nearer Government of *Macedonia*; after an inglorious administration of a Province, whence no Consular Senator had ever returned, but to a triumph. For though, on the account of some trifling advantage in the field, he had procured himself to be saluted Emperor by his army, yet the occasion was so contemptible, that he durst not send any letters upon it to the Senate: but after oppressing the subjects, plundering the allies, and losing the best part of his troops against the neighbouring barbarians, who invaded and laid waste the country, he ran away in disguise from a mutiny of the soldiers, whom he disbanded at last without their pay [l]. When he arrived at

Rome,

A. Urb. 698.
Cic. 52.
Coff.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS II.
M. LICINIUS
CRASSUS II.

[k] Vid. Dio. l. 39. p. 116, &c.

[l] Ex qua aliquot Prætorio imperio, Consulari quidem nemo rediit, qui incolumis fuerit, qui non triumphavit. In *Pison*. 16.

Ut ex ea provincia, quæ fuit ex omnibus una maxime triumphalis, nullas sit ad Senatum litteras mittere ausus. —Nuncius ad Senatum missus est nullus. Ib. 19.

A. Urb. 698. *Rome*, he stript his Fasces of their laurel, and entered the City obscurely and ignominiously, without any other attendance than his own retinue [m]. On his first appearance in public, trusting to the authority of his son-in-law, Cæsar, he had the hardiness to attack Cicero, and complain to the Senate of his injurious treatment of him: but when he began to reproach him with the disgrace of his exile, the whole Assembly interrupted him by a loud and general clamor [n]. Among other things, with which he upbraided Cicero, he told him, that it was not any envy for what he had done, but the vanity of what he had said, which had driven him into exile; and that a single verse of his,

Cedant arma Togæ, concedat laurea linguæ,

was the cause of all his calamity; by provoking Pompey to make him feel, how much the power of the General was superior to that of the Orator: he put him in mind also, that it was mean and ungenerous to exert his spleen onely against such, whom he had reason to condemn, without daring to

Mitto de amissa maxima parte exercitus—20.—

Dyrrhachium ut venit decedens, obsessus est ab iis ipsis militibus—Quibus cum juratus affirmasset, se, quæ deberentur, postero die persoluturum; domum se abdidit: inde nocte intempesta crepidatus, veste servili navem conscendit.—38.—

[m] Sic iste—Macedonicus Imperator in urbem se intulit, ut nullius negotiatoris obscurissimi redditus un-

quam fuerit desertior.—23.

Cum tu—detractam e cruentis fascibus lauream ad portam Esquilinam abjecisti.—Ib. 30.

[n] Tunc ausus es meum discessum illum—maledicti & contumeliæ loco ponere? Quo quidem tempore cepi, Patres conscripti, fructum immortalis vestri in me amoris—qui non admurmuratione, sed voce & clamore abjecti hominis—petulantiam fregistis.—Ib. 14.

meddle

meddle with those, who had more power, and where his resentment was more due [o]. But it had been better for him, to have stifled his complaints and suffered Cicero to be quiet; who, exasperated by his imprudent attack, made a Reply to him upon the spot, in an *Invective speech*, the severest perhaps, that was ever spoken by any man, on the person, the parts, the whole life and conduct of Piso; which, as long as the *Roman* name subsists, must deliver down a most detestable character of him to all posterity. As to the verse, with which he was urged, he ridicules the absurdity of Piso's application of it, and tells him, "that he had contrived a very extraordinary punishment for *poor poets*, if they were to be banished for every *bad line*: that he was a Critic of a new kind; not an Aristarchus, but a Grammatical Phalaris; who, instead of expunging the verse, was for destroying the author: that the verse itself could not imply any affront to any man whatsoever: that he was an ass, and did not know his letters, to imagine, that by the Gown, he meant his own gown; or by arms, the arms of any particular General; and not to see, that he was speaking onely in the Poetical stile; and as the one was the emblem of peace, the other of war, that he could mean nothing else, than that the tumults and dangers, with which the City had been threatened, must now give way to peace and tranquillity: that he might have

A. Urb. 698.
Cic. 52.
Coff.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS II.
M. LICINIUS
CRASSUS II.

[o] Non ulla tibi, inquit, invidia nocuit, sed versus tui. —Hæc res tibi fluctus illos excitavit—Tuæ dicis, inquit, Togæ, summum Imperatorem esse cessurum.—

Paullo ante dixisti me cum iis configere, quos despicerem; non attingere eos, qui plus possent, quibus iratus esse deberem.—Ib. 29, 30, 31.

“ stuck

- A. Urb. 698. “ stuck a little indeed in explaining the latter
 Cic. 52. “ part of the verse, if Piso himself had not
 Coss. “ helped him out; who, by trampling his own
 CN. POMPEI- “ laurel under foot at the Gates of *Rome*, had
 US MAG- “ declared how much he thought it inferior to
 NUS II. “ every other kind of honor — that as for
 M. LICINIUS “ Pompey, it was silly to think that, after the
 CRASSUS II. “ volumes, which he had written in his praise,
 “ one *silly verse* should make him at last his ene-
 “ my: but that in truth, he never was his ene-
 “ my; and if, on a certain occasion, he had
 “ shewn any coldness towards him, it was all
 “ owing to the perfidy and malice of such as
 “ Piso; who were continually infusing jealousies
 “ and suspicions into him, till they had removed
 “ from his confidence all who loved either him,
 “ or the Republic [*p*].”

ABOUT this time, the Theater, which Pompey had built at his own charge, for the use and ornament of the City, was solemnly opened and dedicated: it is much celebrated by the ancients, for its grandor and magnificence: the plan was taken from the Theater of *Mytilene*, but greatly

[*p*] Quoniam te non Aristarchum, sed Grammaticum Phalarim habemus, qui non notam apponas ad malum versum, sed poetam armis prosequare — Quid nunc te, Afine, literas doceam? Non dixi hanc togam, qua sum amictus, nec arma, scutum & gladium unius Imperatoris: sed quod pacis est insigne & otii, toga; contra autem arma, tumultus ac belli, more poetarum locutus, hoc intelligi volui, bellum ac tumultum paci atque otio concessurum — in altero — hære-

rem, nisi tu expedis. Nam cum tu — detractam e cruentis fascibus lauream ad portam Esquilinam abjecisti, indicasti, non modo amplissimæ, sed etiam minimæ laudi lauream concessisse — Vis Pompeium isto versu inimicum mihi esse factum — Primo nonne compensabit cum uno versiculo tot mea volumina laudum suarum? Vestrae fraudes, — vestrae criminationes insidiarum mearum — effecerunt ut ego excluderem — &c. In Pison. 30, 31.

enlarged,

enlarged, so as to receive commodiously *forty thousand people*. It was surrounded by a *Portico*, to shelter the company in bad weather, and had a *Curia*, or Senate-house, annexed to it; with a *Basilica* also, or grand Hall, proper for the sittings of Judges, or any other public business: which were all finished at Pompey's cost, and adorned with a great number of Images, formed by the ablest masters, of men and women, famed for something very remarkable or prodigious in their lives and characters [q]. Atticus undertook the care of placing all these statues, for which Pompey charged Cicero with his thanks to him [r]: but what made this Fabric the more surprising and splendid, was a beautiful Temple, erected at one end of it to *Venus the Conqueress*; and so contrived, that the seats of the Theater might serve as stairs to the Temple. This was designed, it is said, to avoid the reproach of making so vast an expence for the meer use of luxury; the Temple being so placed, that those who came to the shews, might seem to come to worship the Goddesses [s].

A. Urb. 698.
Cic. 52.
Coff.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS II.
M. LICINIUS
CRASSUS II.

[q] Pompeius Magnus in ornamentis Theatri mirabiles fama posuit imagines; ob id diligentius magnorum artificum ingeniis elaboratas: inter quas legitur Eutyche, a viginti liberis rogo illata, enixa triginta partus; Alcippe, Elephantum, Plin. H. 7. 3.

[r] Tibi etiam gratias agebat, quod signa componenda suscepisses. Ad Att. 4. 9.

[s] Quum Pompeius, inquit, ædem Victoriæ dedicaturus esset, cujus gradus vicem Theatri essent, &c. A.

Gell. X. 1. Vid. Tertull. de Spectat.

Dion. Cassius mentions it, as a tradition, that he had met with, that this Theater was not really built by Pompey, but by his Freedman, Demetrius, who had made himself richer than his master, by attending him in his wars; and to take off the envy of raising so vast an estate, laid out a considerable part of it upon the Theater, and gave the honor of it to Pompey. Dio. p. 107. Senec. de Tranq. Anim. c. 8.

A. Urb. 698. At the solemnity of this dedication, Pompey entertained the people with *the most magnificent shews*, which had ever been exhibited in Rome: Cic. 52. *in the Theater, were stage plays, prizes of music, Coss.* wrestling, and all kinds of bodily exercises: in the Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. Circus, horse-races, and huntings of wild beasts for five days successively; in which five hundred lions were killed; and on the last day, twenty elephants: whose lamentable howling, when mortally wounded, raised such a commiseration in the multitude, from a vulgar notion of their great sense and love to man, that it destroyed the whole diversion of the shew, and drew curses on Pompey himself, for being the author of so much cruelty [t]. So true it is, what Cicero observes of this kind of prodigality; that there is no real dignity or lasting honor in it; that it satiates, while it pleases, and is forgotten, as soon as it is over [u]. It gives us however a genuine Idea of the wealth and grandor of these principal subjects of Rome; who, from their private revenues, could raise such noble buildings, and provide such shews, from the several quarters of the world, which no monarch on earth is now able to exhibit.

[t] Magnificentissima vero Pompeii nostri munera in secundo Consulatu. De Off. 2. 16.

Pompeii quoque altero Consulatu, dedicatione Templi Veneris Victricis, pugnare in Circo viginti Elephantes—Amissa fugæ spe misericordiam vulgi inenarrabili habitu querentes supplicare, quadam sese lamentatione complorantes, tanto populi dolore, ut obli-
tus Imperatoris—Plens uni-

versus confurgeret, dirasque Pompeio, quas ille mox luit, pœnas imprecaretur—Plin. l. 8. 7. Vid. Dio. l. 39. p. 107. It. Plutar. in Pomp.

[u] In his infinitis—sumptibus, nihil nos magnopere mirari: cum nec necessitati subveniatur, nec dignitas augeatur: ipsaque illa delectatio multitudinis sit ad breve exiguumque tempus—in quo tamen ipso, una cum satietate memoria quoque moriatur voluptatis.—De Off. 2. 16.

CICERO, contrary to his custom, was present at these shews, out of compliment to Pompey, and gives a particular account of them to his friend M. Marius, who could not be drawn by them from his books and retreat in the country. "The old actors, *says he*, who had left the stage, came on to it again, in honor to Pompey; but for the sake of their own honour, ought rather to have staid away; our friend Æsopus appeared to be quite funk and worn out; so that all people seemed willing to grant him his quietus: for in attempting to raise his voice, where he had occasion to swear, his speech faltered and failed him—— In the other plays, the vast apparatus, and crouded machinery, which raised the admiration of the mob, spoiled the entertainment: six hundred mules, infinite treasures of plate, troops of horse and foot fighting on the stage.—— The huntings indeed were magnificent, but what pleasure to a man of taste, to see a poor weak fellow torn to pieces by a fierce beast; or a noble beast struck dead with a spear: the last day's shew of Elephants, instead of delight, raised a general compassion, and an opinion of some relation between that animal and man: but lest you should think me wholly happy, in these days of diversion, I have almost burst myself in the defence of your friend Gallus Caninius: if the City would be as kind to me, as they are to Æsopus, I would willingly quit the stage, to live with you, and such as you, in a polite and liberal ease [x]."

THE City continued for a great part of this summer without it's annual Magistrates: for the

A. Urb. 698.
Cic. 52.
Coff.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS II.
M. LICINIUS
CRASSUS II.

[x] Ep. fam. 7. 1.

A. Urb. 693. elections, which had been postponed from the
 Cic. 52. last year, were still kept off by the Consuls, till
 Coff. they could settle them to their minds, and secure
 CN. POMPEI- them to their own Creatures: which they effect-
 US MAG- ed at last, except in the case of *two Tribuns*, who
 NUS II. slipped into the office against their will: but the
 M. LICINIUS most remarkable repulse was, of M. Cato *from*
 CRASSUS II. *the Prætorship*, which was given to Vatinius; from
 the best Citizen, to the worst. Cato, upon his
 return from *the Cyprian voyage*, was compli-
 mented by the Senate for that service with *the*
offer of the Prætorship, in an extraordinary man-
ner [y]. But he declined the compliment, think-
 ing it more agreeable to his character to obtain
 it in the ordinary way, by the free choice of the
 people: but when the election came on, in which
 he was thought sure of success, Pompey *broke up*
the assembly, on pretence of somewhat inauspicious
in the heavens, and, by intrigue and management, got
Vatinius declared Prætor, who had been repulsed the
year before with disgrace from the Ædileship [z]: but
 this being carried by force of money, and likely
 to produce an impeachment of Vatinius, Afra-
 nius moved for a decree, *that the Prætors should*
not be questioned for bribery after their election;
which passed against the general humor of the
Senate; with an exception onely, of sixty days,
in which they were to be considered as private men.
 The pretence for the decree was, that so much
 of the year being spent, the whole would pass
 without any Prætors at all, if a liberty of im-

[y] Cujus ministerii gratia
 Senatus relationem interponi
 jubebat, ut Prætoris Comi-
 tiis extra ordinem ratio ejus
 haberetur. Sed ipse id fieri
 passus non est.—Val. Max. 4.

1. Plutar. in Cato.

[z] Proxima dementiæ suf-
 fragia — quoniam quem ho-
 norem *Catoni* negaverunt,
Vatinio dare coacti sunt. Val.
 Max. 7. 5. Plut. in Pomp.

peaching

peaching was allowed: *from this moment, says Cicero, they have given the exclusion to Cato; and, being masters of all, resolve that all the world shall know it [a].*

CICERO's *Palatin house*, and the adjoining *Portico of Catulus* were now finished; and as he and his brother were the *Curators* likewise of the repairs of the *Temple of Tellus* [b], so they seem to have provided some inscriptions for these buildings in honor and memory of themselves: but since no public Inscriptions could be set up, unless by public authority, they were apprehensive of an opposition from Clodius. Cicero mentioned the case to Pompey, who promised his assistance, but advised him to talk also with Crassus, which he took occasion to do, as he attended him home one day from the Senate. Crassus readily undertook the affair, and told him, *that Clodius had a point to carry for himself, by Pompey's help and his, and that if Cicero would not oppose Clodius, he was persuaded that Clodius would not disturb him; to which Cicero consented.* Clodius's business was to procure one of those *free or honorary Lieutenancies*, that he might go with a public character to *Byzantium*, and *King Brogitarus*, to gather the money, which they owed him for past services. *As it is a mere money matter, says Cicero, I shall not concern myself about it, whether I gain my own point or not, though Pompey and Cras-*

A. Urb. 698.
Cic. 52.
Coff.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS II.
M. LICINIUS
CRASSUS II.

[a] A. D. III. id. Maii S. C. factum est de ambitu in Afranii sententiam.— Sed magno cum gemitu Senatus. Consules non sunt persecuti eorum sententias: qui Afranio cum essent assensu addiderunt, ut Prætores ita crearentur, ut dies LX. privati

essent. Eo die Catonem plane repudiarunt. Quid multa? Tenet omnia, idque ita omnes intelligere volunt. Ad Quint. 2. 9.

[b] Quod Ædes Telluris est curationis mee. De Harusp. resp. 14.

A. Urb. 698. *us have jointly undertaken it: but he seems to*
 Cic. 52. *have obtained what he desired, since besides the*
 Coss. *intended Inscriptions, he mentions a statue also of*
 CN. POMPEI- *his Brother, which he had actually erected at the*
 US MAG- *Temple of Tellus [c].*
 NUS II.

M. LICINIUS TREBONIUS, one of the Tribuns, in the in-
 CRASSUS II. *terest of the Triumvirate, published a law, for*
the assignment of Provinces to the Consuls for the
term of five years: to Pompey, Spain and Afric;
to Crassus, Syria, and the Parthian war, with a
power of raising what forces they thought fit: and
that Caesar's commission should be renewed also for
five years more. The law was opposed by the ge-
nerality of the Senate; and, above all, by Cato,
Favonius, and two of the Tribuns, C. Ateius Ca-
pito, and P. Aquilius Gallus: but the superior
force of the Consuls and the other Tribuns pre-
vailed, and cleared the Forum by violence of all
their opponents.

THE law no sooner passed, than Crassus began
 to prepare for his Eastern expedition; and was in
 such hast to set forward, that he left *Rome* above
 two months before the expiration of his Consulship:
 his eagerness to involve the Republic in a despe-
 rate war, for which *the Parthians* had given no
 pretext, was generally detested by the City: *the*

[c] Multa nocte cum Vi-
 bulio veni ad Pompeium.
 Cumque ego egissem de istis
 operibus & inscriptionibus,
 per mihi benigne respondit.
 —Cum Crasso se dixit loqui
 velle, mihi que, ut idem fa-
 cerem, suavit. Crassum Con-
 sulem ex Senatu domum re-
 duxi: suscepit rem, dixitque
 esse quod Clodius hoc tem-
 pore cuperet se, & per Pom-

peium consequi. Putare se,
 si ego eum non impedirem,
 posse me adipisci sine conten-
 tione quod vellem—&c. Ad
 Quint. 2. 9.

Reddita est mihi pervetus
 Epistola — in qua de Æde
 Telluris, & de porticu Catu-
 li me admones. Fit utrum-
 que diligenter. Ad Telluris
 etiam tuam statuam locavi.
 Ib. 3. 1.

Tribun Ateius declared it impious, and prohibited by all the auspices; and denounced direful imprecations against it; but finding Crassus determined to march in defiance of all religion, he waited for him at the gates of the City, and having dressed up a little altar, stood ready with a fire and sacrifice to devote him to destruction [d]. Ateius was afterwards turned out of the Senate by Appius, when he was Censor, for falsifying the auspices on this occasion; but the miserable fate of Crassus supported the credit of them; and confirmed the vulgar opinion of the inevitable force of those ancient rites, in drawing down the divine vengeance on all, who presumed to condemn them [e]. Appius was one of the Augurs: and the only one of the College, who maintained the truth of their auguries, and the reality of divination; for which he was laughed at by the rest; who charged him also with an absurdity, in the reason, which he subscribed, for his Censure upon Ateius, viz. that he had falsified the auspices, and brought a great calamity on the Roman people: for if the auspices, they said, were false, they could not possibly have any effect, or be the cause of that calamity [f]. But though they were undoubtedly forged, it is certain however, that they had a real influence on the overthrow of

A. Urb. 698.
Cic. 52.
Coff.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS II.
M. LICINIUS
CRASSUS II.

[d] Dio. l. 39. p. 109. Plut. in Crass. —

[e] M. Crasso quid acciderit, videmus, dirarum obnunciatione neglecta. — De Divin. i. 16.

[f] Solus enim multorum annorum memoria, non decantandi Augurii, sed divinandis tenuit disciplinam: quem irridebant Collegæ tui, cumque tum Pisidam, tum

Soranum Augurem esse dicebant. Quibus nulla videbatur in Auguriis aut Auspiciis præsentio. — Ib. 47.

In quo Appius, bonus Augur — non satis scienter — Civem egregium, Ateium, censor notavit, quod ementitum auspicia subscripserit. — Quæ si falsa fuisset nullam adferre potuisset causam calamitatis. — Ib. 16.

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Crassus: for the terror of them had deeply possessed the minds of the foldiers, and made them turn every thing which they saw, or heard, to
 Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. *an omen of their ruin*; so that when the enemy appeared in fight, they were struck with such a
 M. Licinius Crassus II. panic, that they had not courage or spirit enough left to make a tolerable resistance.

CRASSUS was desirous, before he left *Rome*, to be reconciled to Cicero: they had never been real friends, but generally opposite in party; and Cicero's early engagements with Pompey kept him of course at a distance from Crassus: their coldness was still encreased on account of *Catiline's plot*, of which Crassus was strongly suspected; and charged Cicero with being the author of that suspicion: they carried it however on both sides with much decency; out of regard to Crassus's son, Publius, a professed admirer and disciple of Cicero; till an accidental debate in the Senate blew up their secret grudge into an open quarrel. The debate was upon Gabinius, whom Crassus undertook to defend, with many severe reflections upon Cicero; who replied with no less acrimony, and gave a free vent to *that old resentment of Crassus's many injuries, which had been gathering, he says, several years, but lain dormant so long, that he took it to be extinguished, till, from this accident, it burst out into a flame.* The quarrel gave great joy to the chiefs of the Senate; who highly applauded Cicero, in hopes to embroil him with *the Triumvirate*: but Pompey labored hard to make it up, and Cæsar also by letter expressed his uneasiness upon it; and begged it of Cicero, as a favor, to be reconciled with Crassus: so that he could not hold out against an intercession so powerfull, and so well enforced by his affection to *young Crassus*: their reconciliation was confirmed

confirmed by mutual professions of a sincere friendship for the future; and Crassus, *to give a public testimony of it to the City, invited himself, just before his departure, to sup with Cicero; who entertained him in the gardens of his son-in-law, Crassipes* [g]. These gardens were upon *the banks of the Tiber*, and seem to have been famous for their beauty and situation [h]: and are the only proof, which we meet with, of the splendid fortunes and condition of Crassipes.

A. Urb. 698.
Cic. 51.
Coss.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS II.
M. LICINIUS
CRASSUS II.

CICERO spent a great part of the summer in the country, in study and retreat; *pleased, he says, that he was out of the way of those squabbles, where he must either have defended what he did not approve, or deserted the man whom he ought not to forsake* [i]. In this retirement, he put the last hand to his Piece, *on the Complete Orator*, which he sent to Atticus, and promises also to send to Lentulus; telling him, *that he had intermitted his old task of orations, and betaken himself to the milder*

[g] Repentinam ejus Gabinii defensionem — Si sine ulla mea contumelia suscepisset, tulissem: sed cum me disputantem, non laceffentem læsisset, exarsit non solum præfenti, credo, iracundia (nam ea tam vehemens fortasse non fuisset) sed cum inclusum illud odium multarum ejus in me injuriarum, quod ego effudisse me omne arbitrabar, residuum tamen insciente me fuisset, omne repente apparuit — Cumque Pompeius ita contendisset, ut nihil unquam magis, ut cum Crasso redirem in gratiam; Cæsarque per literas maxima se molestia ex illa contentione

affectedum ostenderet: habui non temporum solum meorum rationem, sed etiam naturæ. Crassusque ut quasi testata populo Rom. esset nostra gratia, pæne a meis lauribus in provinciam est profectus. Nam cum mihi condixisset, cœnavit apud me in mei Generi Crassipedis hortis. — Ep. fam. 1. 9.

[h] Ad Quint. 3. 7. Ad Att. 4. 12.

[i] Ego a fuisse me in altercationibus, quas in Senatu factas audio, fero non moleste; nam aut defendissem quod non placeret, aut defuissem cui non oporteret. Ad Att. 4. 13.

A Urb. 698. and gentler studies; in which he had finished, to his
 Cic. 52. satisfaction, three books, by way of dialogue, on the
 Coss. subject of the Orator, in Aristotle's manner; which
 CN. POMPEI- would be of use to his son, young Lentulus, being
 US MAG- drawn, not in the ordinary way of the schools, and
 NUS II. the dry method of precepts, but comprehending all
 M. LICINIUS that the ancients, and especially Aristotle and Isocrates,
 CRASSUS II. had taught on the Institution of an Orator [k].

THE three books contain as many Dialogues, upon the character and Idea of the perfect Orator, the principal speakers were P. Crassus, and M. Antonius; persons of the first dignity in the Republic, and the greatest Masters of Eloquence, which Rome had then known: they were near forty years older than Cicero, and the first Romans who could pretend to dispute the prize of Oratory with the Greeks; and who carried the Latin tongue to a degree of perfection, which left little or no room for any farther improvement [l]. The disputation was undertaken at the desire, and for the instruc-

[k] Scripsi etiam, (nam ab orationibus disjungo me fere, referoque ad mansuetiores musas) rescripsi igitur Aristoteleo more, quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in disputatione & dialogo de Oratore, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo non fore inutiles. Abhorrent enim a communibus praeceptis: ac omnem antiquarum, & Aristoteleam & Isocrateam rationem Oratoriam complectantur. Ep. fam. 1. 9.

[l] Crassus—quatuor & triginta tum habebat annos, totidemque annis mihi ætate præstabat—Triennio ipso mi-

nor quam Antonius, quod idcirco posui, ut dicendi latine prima maturitas qua ætate extitisset, posset notari; & intelligeretur, jam ad summum pæne esse perductam, ut eo nihil ferme quisquam addere posset, nisi qui a Philosophia, a jure civili, ab historia fuisset instructior. Brut. 275.

Nunc ad Antonium, Crassumque pervenimus. Nam ego sic existimo hos Oratores fuisse maximos: & in his primum cum Græcorum gloria latine dicendi copiam æquatam—Ib. 250.

tion of two young Orators of great hopes, C. Cotta and P. Sulpicius, who were then beginning to flourish at the bar: Cicero himself was not present at it, but being informed by Cotta, of the principal heads and general argument of the whole, supplied the rest from his own invention, agreeably to the different stile and manner, which those great men were known to pursue; and with design to do honor to the memory of them both, but especially of Crassus, who had been the director of his early studies; and to whom he assigns the defence of that notion, which he himself always entertained, of the character of a consummate Speaker [m].

A. Urb. 698.
Cic. 52.
Coff.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS II.
M. LICINIUS
CRASSUS II.

ATTICUS was exceedingly pleased with this treatise, and commended it to the skies; but objected to the propriety of dismissing Scævola from the disputation, after he had once been introduced into the first dialogue. Cicero defends himself by the example of their God, Plato as he calls him, in his book on Government; where the Scene being laid in the house of an old Gentleman, Cephalus, the old man, after bearing a part in the first conversation, excuses himself, that he must go to prayers, and returns no more; Plato not thinking it suitable to the character of his age, to be detained in the Company through so long a discourse: that, with greater reason therefore, he had used the same caution in the case of Scævola; since it was not decent to suppose a person of his dignity, extreme age,

[m] Nos enim, qui ipsi sermoni non interfuissemus, & quibus C. Cotta tantummodo locos, ac sententias hujus disputationis tradidisset, quo in genere orationis utrumque Oratorem cognoveramus, id ipsam sumus in eo-

rum sermone adumbrare conati——De Orat. 3. 4.

Ut ei, (Crasso) & si nequam parem illius ingenio, at pro nostro tamen studio meritam gratiam debitamque referamus—Ibid.——

A. Urb. 698. *and infirm health, spending several days successively*
 Cic. 52. *in another man's house: that the first day's dialogue*
 Coff. *related to his particular profession, but the other two*
 CN. POMPEI- *turned chiefly on the rules and precepts of the art,*
 US MAG- *where it was not proper for one of Scævola's temper*
 NUS II. *and character to assist onely as a hearer [n]. This*
 M. LICINIUS *admirable work remains intire, a standing monu-*
 CRASSUS II. *ment of Cicero's parts and abilities; which, while*
it exhibits to us the Idea of a perfect Orator,
and marks out the way, by which Cicero formed
himself to that character, it explanes the reason
likewise why no-body has since equalled him, or
ever will, till there be found again united, what
will hardly be found single in any man, the same
industry, and the same parts.

CICERO returned to Rome, about the middle of November, to assist at Milo's wedding, who married Fausta, a rich and noble Lady, the daughter of Sylla the Dictator [o]; with whom, as some writers say, he found Sallust the Historian in bed not long after, and had him soundly lashed, before he dismissed him. The Consuls, Pompey and Crassus, having reaped all the fruit, which they had proposed from the Consulship, of securing to themselves the Provinces, which they wanted, were not much concerned about the choice of their successors; so that, after postponing the election to the end of the year, they gave way at last to their enemy, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus; being content to have joined with him their friend, Appius Claudius Pulcher.

[n] Quod in iis libris, quos laudas, personam desideras Scævolaë. Non eam temere dimovi, sed feci idem, quod in πολυλογία Deus ille noster, Plato. Cum in Πιρææum Socrates venisset ad

Cephalum, locupletem & festivum senem, quoad primus ille sermo haberetur adest in disputando Senex—&c. Ad Att. 4. 16.

[o] Ad Att. 4. 13. 5. 8.

As soon as the new year came on, Crassus's enemies began to attack him in the Senate: their design was to revoke his commission, or abridge it at least of the power of *making war upon the Parthians*: but Cicero exerted himself so strenuously in his defence, that he baffled their attempts, after a warm contest with *the Consuls themselves, and several of the Consular Senators*. He gave Crassus an account of the debate by letter, in which he tells him, *that he had given proof, not only to his friends and family, but to the whole City, of the sincerity of his reconciliation; and assures him of his resolution to serve him, with all his pains, advice, authority, interest, in every thing great or small, which concerned himself, his friends, or clients; and bids him look upon that Letter as a league of amity, which on his part should be inviolably observed* [p].

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

THE month of February being generally employed in giving audience to foreign Princes and Embassadors, Antiochus, King of Comagene, a territory on the banks of the Euphrates [q], preferred a petition to the Senate for some new honour or privilege, which was commonly decreed to Princes in alliance with the Republic: but Cicero being in a rallying humor, made the petition so ridiculous, *that the house rejected it, and at his motion, reserved likewise out of his jurisdiction one of his principal Towns, Zeugma; in which was the chief bridge and passage over the Euphrates*. Cæsar, in his Consulship, had granted to this King the honor of the *Prætecta*, or the robe of the Roman Magistrates; which was always disagree-

[p] Has literas velim existimes fœderis habiturus esse vim, non epistolæ; meque ea, quæ tibi promitto ac re-

cipio, sanctissime esse observaturum—Ep. fam. 5. 8.

[q] Ep. fam. 15. 1, 3, 4.

able

A. Urb. 699. able to the nobility, who did not care to see
 Cic. 53. these petty Princes put upon the same rank with
 Coff. themselves; so that Cicero, *calling out upon the*
 L. DOMITIUS nobles, will you, says he, *who refused the Prætex-*
 AHENO- *ta to the King of Bostra, suffer this Comagenian*
 BARBUS, *to strut in purple!* But this disappointment was
 A. CLAUDIUS not more mortifying to the King, than it was to
 PULCHER. the Consuls, whose best perquisites were drawn
 from these compliments, which were always re-
 paid by rich presents; so that Appius, who had
 been lately reconciled to Cicero, and paid a particu-
 lar court to him at this time, applied to him by At-
 ticus, and their common friends, to suffer the peti-
 tions of this sort to pass quietly, nor destroy the usual
 harvest of the month, and make it quite barren to
 him [r].

CICERO made an excursion this spring to vi-
 sit his several seats and estates in the country;
 and, in his *Cuman Villa*, began a *Treatise on*
politics; or on the best state of a City, and the du-
ties of a Citizen: he calls it a *great and laborious*
work, yet worthy of his pains, if he could succede in
it; if not, I shall throw it, says he, into that
sea, which is now before me, and attempt something
else, since it is impossible for me to be idle. It was
 drawn up in the form of a *dialogue*, in which the
 greatest persons of the old Republic were intro-

[r] De Comageno Rege,
 quod rem totam discusseram,
 mihi & per se & per Pompo-
 nium blanditur Appius. Vi-
 det enim, si hoc genere di-
 cendi utar in cæteris, Febru-
 arium sterilem futurum. E-
 umque lusi jocosæ satis: ne-
 que solum illud extorsi oppi-
 dulum, quod erat positum in
 Euphrate, Zeugma; sed præ-
 terea togam ejus prætextam,

quam erat adeptus Cæsare
 Consule, magno hominum ri-
 su cavillatus—Vos autem
 homines nobiles, qui Bostre-
 num Prætextatum non fereba-
 tis, Comagenum feretis?—
 Multa dixi in ignobilem Re-
 gem, quibus totus est explo-
 sus. Quo genere commotus
 Appius totum me amplexa-
 tur.—Ad Quint. 2. 12.

duced,

duced, debating on the origin and best constitution of government; Scipio, Lælius, Philus, Manilius, &c. [s]. The whole was to be distributed into nine books, each of them the subject of one day's disputation: when he had finished the two first, they were read in *his Tusculan Villa* to some of his friends; where Sallust, who was one of the company, advised him to change his plan, and treat the subject *in his own person, as Aristotle had done before him; alledging, that the introduction of those ancients, instead of adding gravity, gave an air of Romance to the argument, which would have the greater weight, when delivered from himself; as being the work, not of a little Sophist, or contemplative Theorist, but of a Consular Senator, and Statesman, conversant in the greatest affairs, and writing what his own practice, and the experience of many years, had taught him to be true.* These reasons seemed very plausible, and made him think of altering his scheme; especially since, by throwing the scene so far back, he precluded himself from touching on those important revolutions of the Republic, which were later than the period, to which he confined himself: but, after some deliberation, being unwilling to throw away *the two books*, already finished, with which he was much pleased, he resolved to stick to the old plan, and as he had

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

[s] Scribebam illa, quæ dixeram πολυγρά, spissum sane opus & operosum: sed si ex sententia successerit, bene erit opera posita; sin minus, in illud ipsum mare dejiciemus, quod scribentes spectamus; aggrediemur alia, quoniam quiescere non possumus. Ib. 14.

Hanc ego, quam institui, de Repub. disputationem in Africani personam & Philii, & Lælii & Manilii contuli, &c.—Rem, quod te non fugit, magnam complexus sum & gravem, & plurimi otii, quod ego maxime egeo. Ad Att. 4. 16.

preferred

A. Urb. 699. preferred it from the first, *for the sake of avoiding*
 Cic. 53. *offence*, so he pursued it without any other alte-
 Coff. ration, than that of reducing the number of
 L. DOMITIUS books from *nine to six*; in which form they were
 AHENO- afterwards published, and survived him for several
 BARBUS, ages, though now unfortunately lost [t].
 A. CLAUDIUS
 PULCHER.

FROM the fragments of this work, which still remain, it appears to have been a noble performance, and one of his capital pieces; where all the important questions in politics and morality were discussed with the greatest elegance and accuracy; *of the origin of Society; the nature of law and obligation; the eternal difference of right and wrong; of justice being the only good policy, or foundation either of public or private prosperity: so that he calls his six books, so many pledges, given to the public, for the integrity of his conduct* [u]. The younger Scipio was the principal speaker of the Dialogue, whose part it was *to assert the*

[t] Sermo autem in novem & dies & libros distributus de optimo statu civitatis & de optimo cive.—Hi libri, cum in Tusculano mihi legerentur, audiente Sallustio; admonitus sum ab illo, multo majore auctoritate illis de rebus dici posse, si ipse loquerer de Repub. præsertim cum essem, non Heraclides Ponticus, sed consularis, & is, qui in maximis versatus in Repub. rebus essem: quæ tam antiquis hominibus attribuerem, ea visum iri ficta esse.—Commovit me, & eo magis, quod maximos motus nostræ civitatis attingere non poteram, quod erant inferiores, quam illorum ætas qui loquebantur.

Ego autem id ipsum tum eram secutus, ne in nostra tempora incurrens offenderem quempiam.—Ad Quint. 3. 5.

This will solve that variation which we find in his own account of this work, in different parts of his writings: and why Fannius, who in some places is declared to be a speaker in it, [Ad Att. 4. 16. Ad Quint. 3. 5.] is denied to be so in others; being dropt, when the number of books was contracted.

[u] Cum sex libris, tanquam prædibus me ipsum obstrinxerim, quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo. Ad Att. 6. 1.

excellence of the Roman constitution, preferably to that of all other states [x]: who, in the sixth book, under the fiction of a dream, which is still preserved to us, takes occasion to inculcate the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and a future state, in a manner so lively and entertaining, that it has been the standing pattern ever since to the wits of succeeding ages, for attempting the same method of instilling moral lessons, in the form of dreams or visions.

HE was now drawn at last into a particular intimacy and correspondence of Letters with Cæsar; who had long been endeavouring to engage him to his friendship, and, with that view, had invited his brother, Quintus, to be one of his Lieutenants in Gaul; where Quintus, to pay his court the better to his General, joined heartily in pressing his Brother to an union with him, instead of adhering so obstinately to Pompey, who, as he tells him, was neither so sincere, nor so generous a friend as Cæsar [y]. Cicero did not dislike the advice, and expressed a readiness to comply with it, of which Balbus gave an intimation to Cæsar, with a Letter, also inclosed, from Cicero himself; but the packet happening to fall into water, the Letters were all destroyed, except a scrap or two of Balbus's, to which Cæsar returned answer; I perceive, that you had written somewhat about Cicero, which I could not make out; but as far as I can guess, it was something rather to be wished,

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

[x] An censes, cum in illis de Repub. libris persuadere videatur Africanus, omnium Rerumpub. nostram veterem illam fuisse optimam. — De Leg. 2. x. vid. ib. 1. 6. 9.

[y] De Pompeio assentior tibi, vel tu potius mihi, nam, ut scis, jampridem, istum canto Cæsarem. — Ad Quint. 2. 13.

A. Urb. 699. *than hoped for* [z]. But Cicero sent another copy of the same Letter, which came safe to his hands, written, as he says, *in the familiar stile, yet without departing from his dignity*. Cæsar answered him with all imaginable kindness, and the offer of every thing, in which his power could serve him, telling him, *how agreeable his Brother's company was to him, by the revival of their old affection; and since he was now removed to such a distance from him, he would take care, that in their mutual want of each other, he should have cause at least to rejoice, that his Brother was with him, rather than any one else. He thanks him also for sending the Lawyer Trebatius to him, and says upon it jocosely, that there was not a man before in his army, who knew how to draw a recognizance*. Cicero, in his account of this Letter to his Brother, says; “it is kind in you, and like a Brother, “to press me to this friendship, though I am “running that way apace myself, and shall do, “what often happens to travellers, who rising “later than they intended, yet, by quickening “their speed, come sooner to their journey’s “end, than if they had set out earlier; so I, “who have over-slept myself in my observance “of this man, though you were frequently rousing me, will correct my past laziness by mending my pace for the future.”—— But as to his

[z] Ille scripsit ad Balbum, fasciculum illum Epistolarum, in quo fuerat & mea & Balbi, totum sibi aqua madidum esse: ut ne illud quidem sciat, meam fuisse aliquam epistolam. Sed ex Balbi epistola pauca verba intellexerat, ad quæ rescripsit

his verbis. De Cicerone video te quiddam scripsisse, quod ego non intellexi; quantum autem conjectura conseq̃uebar id erat hujusmodi, ut magis optandum, quam sperandum putarem. Ad Quint. 2. 12,

seeking any advantage or personal benefit from this alliance, *believe me*, says he, *you who know me*; *I have from him already what I most value, the assurance of his affection, which I prefer to all the great things that he offers me*——[a]. In another letter he says; *I lay no great stress on his promises, want no farther honors, nor desire any new glory, and wish nothing more, but the continuance of his esteem, yet live still in such a course of ambition and fatigue, as if I were expecting what I do not really desire* [b].

BUT though he made no use of Cæsar's generosity for himself, yet he used it freely for his friends; for besides his Brother, who was Cæsar's *Lieutenant*, and Trebatius, who was his *Lawyer*; he procured an eminent post for Orsius, and a Regiment for Curtius; yet Cæsar was chiding him all the while *for his reservedness in*

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

[a] Cum Cæsaris Literis, refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate—Quarum initium est, quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit, & recordatio veteris amoris; deinde se effecturum, ut ego in medio dolore ac desiderio tui, te, cum a me abesses, potissimum secum esse lætarer.—Trebatium quod ad se miserim, perfalse & humaniter etiam gratias mihi agit: negat enim in tanta multitudine eorum, qui una essent, quempiam fuisse, qui vadimonium concipere posset.—

Quare facis tu quidem fraternaliter, quod me hortaris, sed mehercule currentem nunc

quidem, ut omnia mea studia in istum unum conferam, &c.

Sed mihi crede, quem nosti, quod in istis rebus ego plurimi æstimo, jam habeo: —deinde Cæsaris tantum in me amorem, quem omnibus his honoribus, quos me a se expectare vult, antepono.—Ad Quint. 2. 15.

[b] Promissis iis, quæ ostendit, non valde pendeo; nec honores sitio, nec desidero gloriam: magisque ejus voluntatis perpetuitatem, quam promissorum exitum expecto.

Vivo tamen in ea ambitione & labore, tanquam id, quod non postulo, expectem. Ib. 3. 5.

A. Urb. 699. *asking* [c]. His recommendatory Letter of Trebatius, will shew both what a share he possessed at this time of Cæsar's confidence, and with what an affectionate zeal he used to recommend his friends.

Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,

A CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

“ Cicero to Cæsar Emperor.

“ SEE, how I have persuaded myself to consider you as a second self; not onely in what affects my own interest, but in what concerns my friends: I had resolved, whithersoever I went abroad, to carry C. Trebatius along with me; that I might bring him home, adorned with the fruits of my care and kindness: but since Pompey's stay in *Rome* has been longer than I expected, and my own irresolution, to which you are no stranger, will either wholly hinder, or at least retard, my going abroad at all; see, what I have taken upon myself: I began presently to resolve, that Trebatius should expect the same things from you, which he had been hoping for from me: nor did I assure him with less frankness of your good will, than I used to do of my own: but a wonderfull incident fell out, both as a testimony of my opinion, and a pledge of your humanity; for while I was talking of this very Trebatius at my house, with our friend Balbus, your Letter was delivered to me; in the end of which you said; *as to M. Orsius, whom you recommended to me, I will make him even King of Gaul, or Lieutenant to Lepta; send*

[c] M. Curtio Tribunatum ab eo petivi.—Ib. 2. 15. Ep. fam. 7. 5.

De Tribunatu—mihi ipse

Cæsar nominatim Curtio paratum esse rescripsit, meamque in rogando verecundiam objurgavit. Ad Quin. 3. 1.

“ me

“ *me another therefore, if you please, whom I may* A. Urb. 699.
 “ *prefer.* We lifted up our hands, both I and Cic. 53.
 “ Balbus; the occasion was so pat, that it seem- Coss.
 “ ed not to be accidental, but divine. I send L. DOMITIUS
 “ you therefore Trebatius; and send him so, as AHENO-
 “ at first indeed I designed, of my own accord, BARBUS,
 “ but now also by your invitation: embrace him, A. CLAUDIUS
 “ my dear Cæsar, with all your usual courtesy; PULCHER.
 “ and whatever you could be induced to do for
 “ my friends, out of your regard to me, confer
 “ it all singly upon him. I will be answerable
 “ for the man; not in my former stile, which
 “ you justly rallied, when I wrote to you about
 “ Milo, but in the true Roman phrase, which
 “ men of sense use; that there is not an *honest*,
 “ *worthier, modest, man living*: I must add,
 “ what makes the principal part of his character,
 “ that he has a singular memory, and perfect
 “ knowledge of the civil Law. I ask for him,
 “ neither a Regiment nor Government, nor any
 “ certain piece of preferment; I ask your bene-
 “ volence and generosity; yet am not against
 “ the adorning him, whenever you shall think
 “ proper, with those trappings also of glory: in
 “ short, I deliver the whole man to you, from
 “ my hand, as we say, into yours, illustrious
 “ for victory and faith. But I am more impor-
 “ tunate than I need be to you; yet I know
 “ you will excuse it. Take care of your health,
 “ and continue to love me, as you now do [d].”

TREBATIUS was of a lazy, indolent, stu-
 dious temper; a lover of books and good com-
 pany; eagerly fond of the pleasures of Rome;
 and wholly out of his element in a Camp: and
 because Cæsar, through the infinite hurry of his

[d] Ep. fam. 7. 5.

H 2

affairs,

A. Urb. 699. affairs, could not presently admit him to his familiarity, and prefer him so soon as he expected, Cic. 53. he was tired of the drudgery of attending him, Coff. and impatient to be at home again. Under these L. DOMITIUS AHENO- circumstances, there is a series of Letters to him BARBUS, from Cicero, written not onely with the disinterested affection of a friend, but the sollicitude A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. even of a parent, employing all the arts of insinuation, as well of the grave, as of the facetious kind, to hinder him from ruining his hopes and fortunes by his own imprudence. “He laughs at
 “his childish hankering after the City; bids him
 “reflect on the end, for which he went abroad,
 “and pursue it with constancy; observes from
 “*the Medea of Euripides*, that many had served
 “themselves and the public well, at a distance
 “from their Country; whilst others, by spending
 “their lives at home, had lived and died
 “ingloriously; of which number, *says he*, you
 “would have been one, if we had not thrust you
 “out; and since I am now acting *Medea*, take
 “this other lesson from me, *that he, who is not*
 “*wise for himself, is wise to no purpose [e].*” He
 rallies his impatience, or rather “imprudence;
 “as if he had carried a bond, not a Letter to
 “Cæsar, and thought that he had nothing to
 “do but to take his money, and return home;

[e] Tu modo ineptias illas
 & desideria urbis & urbanita-
 tis depone: & quo consilio
 profectus es, id assiduitate &
 virtute consequere.—

Nam multi suam rem bene
 gessere & poplicam, patria
 procul.

Multi, quæ domi ætatem a-

gerent, propterea sunt impro-
 obati.

Quo in numero tu certe
 fuisses, nisi te extrusissemus—
 & quando Medeam agere
 cœpi, illud semper memento,
 qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse
 non quit, nequicquam sapit.
 Ep. Fam. 7. 6.

“not

“ not recollecting, that even those, who follow- A. Urb. 699.
 “ ed King Ptolemy with bonds to *Alexandria*, Cic. 53.
 “ had not yet brought back a penny of mo- Coss.
 “ ney [f]. You write me word, *says he*, that L. DOMITIUS
 “ Cæsar now consults you; I had rather hear, AHENO-
 “ that he consults your Interest [g]. Let me BARBUS,
 “ die, If I do not believe, such is your vanity, A. CLAUDIUS
 “ that you had rather be consulted, than enrich- PULCHER.
 “ ed by him [h]. By these railleries and perpet-
 tual admonitions he made Trebatius ashamed of
 his softness, and content to stay with Cæsar, by
 whose favor and generosity he was cured at last
 of all his uneasiness; and having here laid the
 foundation of his fortunes, flourished afterwards
 in the court of Augustus, with the character of
 the most learned Lawyer of that age [i].

CÆSAR was now upon his second expedition
 into *Britain*; which raised much talk and expect-
 ation at *Rome*, and gave Cicero *no small concern*
 for the safety of his Brother, who, as one of
Cæsar's Lieutenants, was to bear a considerable
 part in it [k]. But the accounts which he re-
 ceived from the place, soon eased him of his ap-
 prehensions, by informing him, *that there was*
nothing either to fear or to hope from the attempt;

[f] Subimprudens vide-
 bare; tanquam enim syngra-
 pham ad Imperatorem, non
 epistolam attulisses, sic, pe-
 cunia ablata, domum redire
 properabas. Nec tibi in men-
 tem veniebat, eos ipsos, qui
 cum syngraphis venissent A-
 lexandriam, nummum adhuc
 nullum auferre potuisse. Ib.
 17.

Ib. xi.

[h] Moriar, ni, quæ tua
 gloria est, puto te malle a
 Cæsare consuli, quam inau-
 rari. Ib. 13.

[i]—Nisi quid tu, docte
 Trebati,

Dissentis.—Hor. Sat. 2. 1. 79.

[k] Ex Quinti fratris lite-
 ris suspicor jam eum esse in
 Britannia: suspenso animo
 expecto quid agat—Ad Att.
 4. 15.

[g] Consuli quidem te a
 Cæsare scribis; sed ego tibi
 ab illo consuli vellem.—

A. Urb. 699. *no danger from the people, no spoils from the Council.* Cic. 53. *try* [l]. In a letter to Atticus, *we are in suspense*, says he, *about the British war: it is certain, that the access of the Island is strongly fortified; and it is known also already, that there is not a grain of silver in it, nor any thing else but slaves; of whom you will scarce expect any, I dare say, skilled in music or Letters* [m]. In another to Trebatius; *I hear, that there is not either gold or silver in the Island: if so, you have nothing to do but to take one of their chariots, and fly back to us* [n].

FROM their railleries of this kind on the barbarity and misery of our Island, one cannot help reflecting on the surprising fate and revolutions of Kingdoms: how *Rome*, once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire, and glory, now lyes sunk in sloth, ignorance, and poverty; enslaved to the most cruel, as well as to the most contemptible of Tyrants, *Superstition and religious Impestore*: while this remote Country, anciently the jest and contempt of the polite Romans, is become the happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters; flourishing in all the arts and refinements of civil life; yet running perhaps the same course, which *Rome* itself had run before it;

[l] O jucundas mihi tuas de Britannia literas! Timebam oceanum, timebam litus Insulæ. Reliqua non equidem contemno——Ad Quint. 1. 16.

De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis literis, nihil esse nec quod metuamus, nec quod gaudeamus.—Ib. 3. 1.

[m] Britannici belli exitus expectatur. Constat enim aditus insulæ munitos esse mirificis molibus. Etiam il-

lud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis; ex quibus nullos puto te literis, aut musicis eruditos expectare. Ad Att 4. 16.

[n] In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, effedum aliquod suadeo capias, & ad nos quam primum recurras. Ep. Fam. 7. 7.

from

from virtuous industry to wealth; from wealth to luxury: from luxury to an impatience of discipline, and corruption of morals; till by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it falls a prey at last to some hardy oppressor, and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valuable, sinks gradually again into its original barbarism.

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

CICERO taking it for granted, that Trebatius followed Cæsar into *Britain*, began to joke with him upon the wonderfull figure that a *British Lawyer* would make at Rome; and, as it was his profession to guard other people's safety, bids him beware that he himself was not caught by the *British charioteers* [o]. But Trebatius, it seems, knew how to take care of himself without Cicero's advice; and when Cæsar passed over to *Britain*, chose to stay behind in *Gaul*: this gave a fresh handle for raillery; and Cicero congratulates him, "upon being arrived at last into a country, " where he was thought to know something; " that if he had gone over also to *Britain*, there " would not have been a man in all that great " Island, wiser than himself.—" He observes, " that he was much more cautious in military, " than in civil contests; and wonders, that being such a lover of swimming, he could not be " persuaded to swim in the Ocean; and when " he could not be kept away from every shew " of Gladiators at *Rome*, had not the curiosity " to see the *British charioteers*: he rejoices how- " ever, after all, that he did not go; since they

[o] Mira enim persona induci potest Britannici Juris consulti. Ep. Fam. 7. xi. dicisti, in Britannia ne ab essedariis decipiaris caveto. Ib. 6.

Tu, qui cæteris cavere di-

A. Urb. 699. "should not now be troubled with the impertinence of his British stories [p]."
Cic. 53. "Coff."

L. DOMITIUS QUINTUS CICERO, who had a genius for poetry, was projecting the plan of a poem, upon their British expedition, and begged his Brother's assistance in it: Cicero approved the design, and observed upon it, *that the nature and situation of places so strange, the manners of the people, their battles with them, and the General himself Caesar, were excellent subjects for poetry; but as to his assistance, it was sending owls to Athens: that Quintus, who had finished four Tragedies in sixteen days, could not want either help or fame in that way, after his Electra and the Troades [q].* In other letters, he

[p] Est, quod gaudeas, te in ista loca venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere: quod si in Britanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta iniuria te peritior fuisset—Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior quam in advocacyibus: qui neque in oceano natare voluisti, homo studiissimus natandi, neque spectare essedarios, quem antea ne Audabatam quidem defraudare poteramus. Ib. x.

In Britanniam te profectum non esse gaudeo, quod & labore caruisti, & ego te de illis rebus non audiam. Ib. 17.

The little hint here given, of Trebarius's love of swimming, adds a new light and beauty to that passage of Horace, where the Poet introduces him, advising, *to swim thrice cross the Tiber*, to cure

the want of sleep; the advice, it seems, being peculiarly agreeable to his own practice and character.

————ter uncti
transfrento Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto.

Sat. 2. l. v. 8.

[q] Te vero ὑπερθεσιν scribendi egregiam habere video. Quos tu sitis, quas naturas rerum & locorum quos mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem vero ipsum Imperatorem habes? Ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis, adjuvabo, & tibi versus, quos rogas, γλαυκάς Ἀθήνας mittam. Ad Quint. 2. 16.

Quatuor Tragedias, cum xvi diebus absolvisse scribas, tu quidquam ab alio mutuaris? & κλέψῃ quæris, cum Electram

he answers more seriously; *that it was impossible to conceive, how much he wanted leisure for versifying: that to write verses required an ease and cheerfulness of mind, which the times had taken from him; and that his poetical flame was quite extinguished by the sad prospect of things before them* [r.]

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

HE had sent Cæsar his Greek Poem, in three books, on the history of his Consulship; and Cæsar's judgment upon it was, *that the beginning of it was as good as any thing, which he had ever seen in that language, but that the following lines, to a certain place, were not equal in accuracy and spirit.* Cicero desires therefore to know of his Brother, *what Cæsar really thought of the whole; whether the matter or the stile displeased him; and begs that he would tell him the truth freely; since whether Cæsar liked it or not, he should not, he says, be a jot the less pleased with himself* [s]. He began how-
ever

Electram & Troadem scripseris?—Ib. 3. 6.

N. B. These *four Tragedies*, said to be written in *sixteen days*, cannot be supposed to have been original productions, but translations from some of the Greek Poets, of which Quintus was a great Master; finished by him in haste for the entertainment of the Camp: for the word *Troadem* in the text, the name of one of them, should most probably be *Troadis*, the title of one of Euripides's Plays; as the *Electra* also was.

[r] Quod me de faciendis versibus rogas, incredibile est, mi frater, quantum egeam tempore — Facerem ta-

men ut possem, sed — opus est ad poema quadam animi alacritate, quam plane mihi tempora eripiunt—Ib. 3. 5.

De versibus — deest mihi opera, quæ non modo tempus, sed etiam animum ab omni cura vacuum desiderat: sed abest etiam *ενθουσιασμός* —&c. Ib. 4.

[s] Sed heus tu, celari video a te, quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Cæsar? Nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante: & prima sic, ut neget se ne Græca quidem meliora legisse; reliqua ad quendam locum *καθυμώτερα*. Hoc enim utitur verbo. Dic mihi verum, num aut res eum aut
χαράνη;

A. Urb. 699. ever another Poem, at his Brother's earnest request, to be addressed to Cæsar, but after some progress was so dissatisfied with it, that he tore it [t]: yet Quintus still urging, and signifying, *that he had acquainted Cæsar with the design*, he was obliged to resume it, and actually finished an *Epic Poem in honour of Cæsar; which he promises to send as soon as he could find a proper conveyance, that it might not be lost, as Quintus's Tragedy of Erigone was in coming from Gaul; the only thing*, says he, *which had not found a safe passage, since Cæsar governed that Province* [u].

Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

WHILE Cicero was expressing no small dissatisfaction at the measures, which his present situation obliged him to pursue, Cæsar was doing every thing in his power, to make him easy: *he treated his Brother with as much kindness, as if Cicero himself had been his general; gave him the choice of his winter quarters, and the Legion, which he best liked* [x]: and Clodius happening to write to him from Rome, he shewed the Letter to Quintus, and declared that he would not answer it;

χαρὰν ἵς non delectat? Nihil est quod vereare. Ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo.—Ib. 2. 16.

[t] Poema ad Cæsarem, quod composueram, incidi.—Ib. 3. 1. §. 4.

[u] Quod me institutum ad illum Poema jubes perficere; etsi distentus tum opera, tum animo sum multo magis, quoniam ex epistola, quam ad te miseram, cognovit Cæsar me aliquid esse exorsum; revertar ad institutum.—Ib. 8.

Quod me hortaris, ut ab-

solvam. habeo absolutum suave, mihi quidem uti videtur, ἐπὶ ad Cæsarem. Sed quæro locupletem tabellarium, ne accadat quod Erigonæ tuæ; cui soli, Cæsare Imperatore, iter ex Gallia tutum non fuit. Ib. 9.

[x] Quintum meum — Dii boni! quemadmodum tractat, honore, dignitate, gratia? Non secus ac si ego essem Imperator. Hibernam Legionem eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me scribit.—Ad. Att. 4. 18.

though Quintus civilly pressed him not to put such an affront upon Clodius, for their sakes [y]: In the midst of all his hurry in Britain, he sent frequent accounts to Cicero, in his own hand, of his progress and success, and, at the instant of quitting the Island, wrote to him from the very shore, of the embarkment of the troops, and his having taken hostages, and imposed a Tribute: and lest he should be surprized at having no Letters at the same time from his Brother, he acquaints him, that Quintus was then at a distance from him, and could not take the benefit of that express: Cicero received all these Letters at Rome, in less than a month after date, and takes notice in one of them, that it arrived on the twentieth day; a dispatch equal to that of our present Couriers by the post [z].

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHEHQ-
BAREUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

As to the news of the City this summer, Cicero tells his Brother, “ that there were some hopes of an election of Magistrates, but those uncertain; some suspicion of a Dictator, yet that not more certain; a great calm in the Forum; but of a City, seemed to be quieted rather by the effects of age, than of concord :

[y] In qua primum est de Clodii ad Cæsarem literis, in quo Cæsaris consilium probo, quod tibi amantissime petenti veniam non dedit, ut ullum ad illam Furiam verbum rescriberet— Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 4.

[z] Ab Quinto fratre & a Cæsare accepi A. D. IX. Kal. Nov. literas, confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla præda, imperata tamen pecunia, datas a littoribus Britanniae, proximo A. D. VI. Kal. Octob. exercitum

Britannia reportabant. Ad Att. 4. 17.

Ex Britannia Cæsar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit literas: quas ego accepi A. D. IIII. Kal. Octob. satis commodas de Britannicis rebus: quibus, ne admirer, quod a te nullas acceperim, scribit se sine te fuisse, cum ad mare accesserit. Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 7.

Cum hanc jam Epistolam complicarem, tabellarii a vobis venerunt ad D. XI. Kal. Sept. vicesimo die. Ib. 3. 1. §. 5.

“ that

- A. Urb. 699. " that his own conduct, as well in public, as in
 Cic. 53. " private, was just what Quintus had advised,
 Coff. " softer than the tip of his ear; and his votes
 L. DOMITIUS " in the Senate such, as pleased others, rather
 AHENO- " than himself.
 BARBUS,
 A. CLAUDIUS
 PULCHER. " Such ills does wretched war and discord breed,

" that bribery was never carried so high, as at
 " this time, by the Consular candidates, Mem-
 " mius, Domitius, Scaurus, Messala; that they
 " were all alike; no eminence in any; for mo-
 " ney levelled the dignity of them all: that
 " above eighty thousand pounds was promised
 " to the first Tribe; and money grown so scarce,
 " by this profusion of it, that interest was risen
 " from four to eight per Cent [a]."

MEMMIUS and Cn. Domitius, who joined
 their interests, made a strange sort of contract
 with the Consuls, which was drawn up in writ-
 ing, and attested in proper form by many of
 their friends on both sides; by which, " the
 " Consuls obliged themselves, to serve them
 " with all their power in the ensuing election;
 " and they on their part undertook, when elect-
 " ed, to procure for the Consuls what Provinces

[a] Res Romanæ sic se
 habebant. Erat nonnulla spes
 comitiorum, sed incerta: e-
 rat aliqua suspicio Dictaturæ,
 ne ea quidem certa: sum-
 mum otium forense; sed
 senescentis magis civitatis,
 quam adquiescentis. Senten-
 tia autem nostra in Senatu
 ejusmodi, magis ut alii nobis
 essentiantur, quam nosmet
 ipsi --

Τοιαυτὸ ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξ-
 εργάζεσθαι. Eurip. Iketid.

Ambitus rediv immanis, nun-
 quam par fuit. Ad Quint.
 2. 15.

Sequere me nunc in Cam-
 pum. Ardet ambitus: σῆ-
 μα δ' ἐταίρω; scœnus ex tri-
 ente Idib. Quint. factum erat
 besibus—ἐξοχή in nullo est,
 pecunia omnium dignitatem
 exæquat—Ad Att. 4. 15.

" they

“ they desired; and gave a Bond of above
 “ 3000 l. to provide three Augurs, who should
 “ testify, that they were present at making
 “ a law for granting them those Provinces,
 “ when no such law had ever been made; and
 “ two Consular Senators, who should affirm,
 “ that they were present likewise at passing a de-
 “ cree of the Senate, for furnishing the same
 “ provinces with arms and money, when the
 “ Senate had never been consulted about it [b].”

A. Urb. 699.
 Cic. 53.
 Coff.
 L. DOMITIUS
 AHENO-
 BARBUS,
 A. CLAUDIUS
 PULCHER.

Memmius, *who was strongly supported by Cæ-
 sar [c], finding some reason to dislike his bar-
 gain, resolved to break it, and, by Pompey's ad-
 vice, gave an account of it to the Senate. Pom-
 pey was pleased with the opportunity of morti-
 fying the Consul Domitius; and willing likewise
 to take some revenge on Appius, who, though his
 near relation, did not enter so fully as he expected
 into his measures [d]: but Cæsar was much out of
 humor at this step [e]; as it was likely to raise
 great scandal in the City, and strengthen the in-
 terest of those who were endeavouring to re-
 strain that infamous corruption, which was the*

[b] Consules flagrant in-
 famia, quod C. Memmius
 candidatus pactionem in Se-
 natu recitavit, quam ipse &
 suus competitor Domitius cum
 Consulibus fecissent, uti am-
 bo H. S. quadragena Consu-
 libus darent, si essent ipsi
 Consules facti, nisi tres Au-
 gures dedissent, qui se ad-
 fuisse dicerent, cum lex cu-
 riata ferretur, quæ lata non
 esset; & duo Consulares, qui
 se dicerent in ornandis pro-
 vinciiis consularibus scriben-
 do affuisse, cum omnino ne

Senatus quidem fuisset. Hæc
 pactio non verbis sed no-
 minibus & perscriptionibus,
 multorum tabulis cum esse
 facta diceretur, prolata a
 Memmio est nominibus in-
 ductis, auctore Pompeio —
 Ad Att. 4. 18.

[c] Memmium Cæsaris
 omnes opes confirmant —
 Ib. 15. 17.

[d] Dio. l. 39. p. 118.

[e] Ut qui jam intellige-
 bamus enunciationem illam
 Memmii valde Cæsari displicere — Ad Att. 4. 16.

- A. Urb. 699. main instrument of advancing his power. Ap-
 Cic. 53. pius never changed countenance, nor lost any credit
 Coss. by the discovery; but his colleague Domitius, who
 L. DOMITIUS affected the character of a Patriot, was extremely
 AHENO- discomposed; and Memmius, now grown desperate,
 BARBUS, resolved to promote the general disorder and the crea-
 A. CLAUDIUS tion of a Dictator [f].
 PULCHER.

QUINTUS sent his Brother word from Gaul, that it was reported there, that he was present at this contract: but Cicero assures him that it was false, and that the bargain was of such a nature, as Memmius had opened it to the Senate, that no honest man could have been present at it [g]. The Senate was highly incensed; and to check the insolence of the parties concerned, passed a decree, that their conduct should be inquired into by what they called a private or silent judgement; where the Sentence was not to be declared till after the election, yet so, as to make void the election of those who should be found guilty: this they resolved to execute with rigor, and made an allotment of Judges for that purpose: but some of the Tribuns were prevailed with to interpose their negative, on pretence of binding all inquisitions, not specially authorized by the people [h].

THIS

[f] Hic Appius erat idem; nihil sane jacturæ. Corruerat alter, & plane, inquam, jacebat. Memmius autem — plane refrixerat, & eo magis nunc cogitare dictaturam, tum favere justitio & omnium rerum licentiæ. — I. 18.

[g] Quod scribis te audisse, in Candidatorum Consularium coitione me interfuisse, id falsum est. Ejus-

modi enim pactiones in ista coitione factæ sunt, quas postea Memmius patefecit, ut nemo bonus interesse debuerit — Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 5.

[h] At Senatus decrevit ut tacitum judicium ante comitia fieret — Magnus timor Candidatorum. Sed quidam Judices — Tribunos pl. appellarunt, ne injussu populi judicarent, Res cedit, comitia dilata ex S. C. dum lex de tacito

THIS detestable bargain of forging laws and decrees at pleasure, in which so many of the first rank were concerned, either as Principals or witnesses, is alledged by an ingenious *French* writer, as a flagrant instance of *that Libertinism, which hastened the destruction of Rome* [i]. So far are private vices from being public benefits, that this great Republic, of all others the most free and flourishing, owed the loss of its Liberty to nothing else but a general defection of its Citizens, from the probity and discipline of their ancestors. Cicero often foretells their approaching ruin from this very cause; and, when he bewails the wretchedness of the times, usually joins *the wickedness of their morals*, as the genuin source of it [k].

BUT lest these corrupt Candidates should escape without punishment, they were all publicly impeached by different Prosecutors, and the City was now in a great ferment about them; since, as Cicero says, *either the men or the law must necessarily perish: yet they will all*, says he, *be acquitted; for trials are now managed so corruptly, that no man will ever be condemned for the future, unless for murder* [l]. But Q. Scævola, one of

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

tacito judicio ferretur. Venit legi dies. Terentius intercessit.—Ad Att. 4. 16.

[i] Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur, &c. de Romains. C. X.

[k] His præsertim moribus atque temporibus, quibus ita prolapsa Resp. est, ut omnium opibus refrænanda, ac coercenda sit. De Divin. 2. 2.

Qui sit Remp. afflictam & oppressam miseris temporibus, ac perditis moribus, in

veterem dignitatem & libertatem vindicaturus.—Ep. Fam. 2. 5.

[l] De ambitu postulati sunt omnes, qui consulatum petant—Magno res in motu est. Propterea quod aut hominum aut legum interitus ostenditur—Ad Quin. 3. 2.

Sed omnes absolventur, nec posthac quisquam damnabitur, nisi qui hominem occiderit. Ad Att. 4. 16.

A. Urb. 699. the Tribuns, took a more effectual way to mortify them, by resolving to hinder any election of
 Cic. 53. Consuls during his Magistracy; in which he persevered, and by his authority *dissolved all the assemblies, convened for that purpose* [m]. The
 L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, *Tribunician Candidates* however were remarkably
 A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. modest this year: for they made an agreement among themselves, which they all confirmed by an oath, “that in prosecuting their several interests, they would submit their conduct to the judgement of Cato, and deposit four thousand pounds a piece in his hands, to be forfeited by those, whom he should condemn of any irregular practice. If the election proves free, *says Cicero*, as it is thought it will, Cato alone can do more than all the Laws and all the Judges [n].”

A great part of this year was taken up in public trials: Suffenas and C. Cato, who had been Tribuns two years before, were tried in the beginning of July, *for violence and breach of peace* in their Magistracy, and both acquitted: but Procilius, one of their Collegues, “was condemned for killing a Citizen in his own house: whence we are to collect, *says Cicero*, that our Areopagites value neither bribery nor elections, nor interregnums, nor attempts against the State, nor the whole Republic, a rush: we

[m] Comitiorum quotidie singuli dies tolluntur obnuntiationibus, magna voluntate bonorum—Ad Quin. 3. 3.

Obnuntiationibus per Scævolam interpositis, singulis diebus—Ad Att. 4. 16.

[n] Tribunitii Candidati jurarunt se arbitrio Catonis

petituros: apud eum H. S. quingena deposuerunt; ut qui a Catone damnatus esset, id perderet, & competitoribus tribueretur—Si comitia, ut putantur, gratuita fuerint; plus unus Cato potuerit, quam omnes quidem iudices. Ib. 15. Ad Quin. 2. 15.

“ must

“ must not murder a man indeed in his own
“ house, though that perhaps might be done
“ moderately, since twenty-two acquitted Pro-
“ cilius, when twenty-eight condemned him [o].”

Clodius was the accuser in these impeachments :
which made Cato, as soon as he was acquitted,
seek a reconciliation with Cicero and Milo [p]. It
was not Cicero’s business to reject the friendship
of an active and popular Senator ; and Milo had
occasion for his service in his approaching suit for
the Consulship. But though Cicero had no con-
cern in these trials, he was continually employed
in others, through the rest of the summer : “ I
“ was never, *says he*, more busy in trials than
“ now ; in the worst season of the year, and the
“ greatest heats, that we have ever known ;
“ there scarce passes a day in which I do not de-
“ fend some [q].” Besides his Clients in the
City, he had several towns and colonies under
his patronage, which sometimes wanted his help
abroad, as the Corporation of *Reate* did now, to
plead for them before *the Consul Appius, and ten*
Commissioners, in a controversy with their neigh-
bours of *Interamna*, about draining the lake *Velinus*
into the River *Nar*, to the damage of their

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

[o] III. Non. Quint. Suf-
fenas & Cato absoluti : Pro-
cilius condemnatus. Ex quo
intellectum est, *τρισπειστοτα-
γίτας*, ambitum, comitia, in-
terregnum, majestatem, to-
tam deinceps Remp. flocci
non facere. Debemus patrem
familias domi suæ occidere
nolle, neque tamen id ipsum
abunde. Nam absolverunt
22, condemnarunt 28——
Ad Att. 4. 15.

[p] Is tamen & mecum &
cum Milone in gratiam rediit.
Ib. 16.

[q] Sic enim habeto nun-
quam me a causis & judiciis
districtiorem fuisse, atque id
anni tempore gravissimo, &
caloribus maximis. Ad Quint.
2. 16.

Diem scito esse nullum,
quo non dico pro reo. Ib. 3.
3.

A. Urb. 699. grounds. He returned from this cause in the
 Cic. 53. midst of the *Apollinarian shews*; and, to relieve
 Coff. himself from the fatigue of his journey, went di-
 L. DOMITIUS rectly to the *Theater*, where he was received by an
 AHENO- universal clap: in the account of which to Atti-
 BARBUS, cus, he adds, *but this you are not to take notice of,*
 A CLAUDIUS *and I am a fool indeed myself for mentioning it* [r].
 PULCHER.

HE now also defended Messius, one of Cæsar's Lieutenants, *who came from Gaul on purpose to take his trial*: then Drusus, accused of *prevaricating or betraying a cause, which he had undertaken to defend; of which he was acquitted by a majority onely of four voices*: After that Vatinius, the last year's *Prætor*, and Æmilius Scaurus, one of the Consular Candidates, *accused of plundering the Province of Sardinia* [s]; and about the same time likewise his old friend, Cn. Plancius; who had entertained him so generously in his exile, and being now chosen *Ædile*, was accused by a disappointed Competitor, M. Laterensis, *of bribery and corruption*. All these were acquitted, but the Orations for them are lost, except that for Plancius; which remains a perpetual monument of Cicero's gratitude: for Plancius having obtained the *Tribunate* from the people, as the re-

[r] Reatini me ad sua
 τετραν duxerunt, ut agerem
 causam contra Interamnates
 —Rediî Romam — Veni in
 spectaculum; primum mag-
 no & æquabili plausu, (sed
 hoc ne curaris; ego ineptus
 qui scripserim) — Ad. Att.

4. 15.

[s] Messius defendebatur a
 popis, e legatione revocatus
 — Deinde me expedito ad
 Drusum, inde ad Scaurum.

— 1212. —

Drusus erat de prævarica-
 tione — absolutus, in summa
 quatuor sententiis — Eodem
 die post meridiem Vatinius
 aderam defensurus; ea res
 facilis — Scauri judicium
 statim exercebitur, cui nos
 non deerimus. Ad Quin. 2.
 16.

Scaurum beneficio defen-
 sionis valde obligavi. — Ib.
 3. 1. §. 5.

ward of his fidelity to Cicero, did not behave himself in that post, with the same affection to him as before, but seems studiously to have slighted him; while several of his Collegues, and especially Racilius, *were exerting all their power in the defence of his person and dignity* [1]. Yet Cicero freely undertook his cause, and as if no coldness had intervened, displayed the merit of his services in the most pathetic and affecting manner; and rescued him from the hands of a powerfull accuser, and his own particular friend. “Drusus’s trial was held in the morning; from which, after going home to write a few Letters, he was obliged to return to Vatinius’s in the afternoon:” which gives us a specimen of the hurry in which he generally lived, and of the little time which he had to spend upon his private affairs, or his studies: and though he was now carrying on several great works of the learned kind, “yet he had no other leisure, *he tells us*, for meditating and composing, but when he was taking a few turns in his gardens, for the exercise of his body, and refreshment of his voice [u].” Vatinius had been one of his fiercest enemies; was in a perpetual opposition to him in politics: and, like Bestia mentioned above, a seditious, profligate, abandoned Libertine: so that the defence of him gave a plausible handle for some censure upon Cicero: but his engagements with Pompey, and especially his new friendship with Cæsar, made it necessary to embrace *all Cæsar’s friends*; among

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHE-
NOREUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

[1] Negas Tribunatum Plancii quicquam attulisse adjumenti dignitati meæ. Atque hoc loco, quod verissime facere potes. L. Racili—
divina in me merita comme-

moras, &c. Pro Plancio 32.

[u] Ita quicquid conficio aut cognito in ambulationis fere tempus confero. Ad Quint. 3. 3.

A. Urb. 699. whom Vatinius was most warmly recommended
Cic. 53. to him.
Coff.

L. DOMITIUS GABINIUS being recalled, as has been said,
AHENO- from his government, returned to *Rome* about
BARBUS, the end of September: he bragged every where
A. CLAUDIUS on his journey, that he was going to the demand
PULCHER. of a triumph; and to carry on that farce, continued a while without the gates; till perceiving how odious he was to all within, *he stole privately into the City by night, to avoid the disgrace of being insulted by the populace* [x]. There were three different impeachments provided against him: the first, for treasonable practices against the state; the second, for the plunder of his province; the third, for bribery and corruption; and so many persons offered themselves to be prosecutors, that there was a contest among them before the *Prætor*, how to adjust their several claims [y]. The first indictment fell to L. Lentulus, who accused him the day after he entered the city, “that, “in defiance of religion and the decree of the “Senate, he had restored the King of *Ægypt* “with an army, leaving his own Province naked, “and open to the incursion of enemies, who “had made great devastations in it.” Cicero, who had received from Gabinius all the provocation, which one man could receive from another, had the pleasure to see his insolent adver-

[x] Ad urbem accessit A. D. xii. Kal. Oct. nihil turpius, nec desertius. Ad Qu. Fr. 3. 1. §. 5.

Cum Gabinius, quacunque veniebat, triumphum se postulare dixisset, subitoque bonus Imperator noctu in urbem, hostium plane, invasisset——Ib. 2.

[y] Gabinium tres adhuc factiones postulant: &c. Ib. 1. §. 5.

Cum hæc scribebam ante lucem, apud Catonem erat divinatio in Gabinium futura, inter Memmiam, & Ti. Neronem, & C. & L. Antonios. Ib. 2.

sary at his feet ; and was prepared to give him such a reception, as he deserved : but Gabinius durst not venture to shew his head for the first ten days, till he was obliged to come to the Senate, in order to give them an account, according to custom, *of the state of his Province, and the troops which he had left in it* : as soon as he had told his story, he was going to retire, but the Consuls detained him, to answer to a complaint brought against him *by the Publicans, or Farmers of the revenues*, who were attending at the door to make it good. This drew on a debate, in which Gabinius was so urged and teized on all sides, but especially by Cicero, *that, trembling with passion, and unable to contain himself, he called Cicero, a banished man* : upon which, says Cicero, in a Letter to his Brother, “ nothing ever happened more honorable to me : the whole Senate left their seats to a man, and with a general clamor ran up to his very face ; while the Publicans also were equally fierce and clamorous against him, and the whole company behaved just as you yourself would have done [z].”

CICERO had been deliberating for some time, *whether he should not accuse Gabinius himself* ; but out of regard to Pompey was content to appear

[z] Interim ipso decimo die, quo ipsum oportebat hostium numerum & militum renunciare, in re hæsit, summa in frequentia : cum vellet exire, a Consulibus retentus est ; introducti publicani. Homo undique actus, cum a me maxime vulneraretur, non tulit, & me trementi voce exulem appellavit. Hic, O Dii, nihil unquam honorificentius nobis accidit. Confurxerunt Senatus cum clamore ad unum, sic ut ad corpus ejus accederet. Pari clamore atque impetu publicani. Quid quæris ? Omnes, tanquam si tu esses, ita fuerunt.—Ib.

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

A. Urb. 699. onely as a witness against him [a]; and when
 Cic. 53. the trial was over, gives the following account
 Coff. of it to his Brother.

L. DOMITIUS " GABINIUS is acquitted: nothing was ever
 AHENO- " so stupid, as his accuser Lentulus; nothing so
 BARBUS, " so fordid as the bench: yet, if Pompey had not
 A. CLAUDIUS " taken incredible pains, and the rumor of a
 PULCHER. " Dictatorship had not infused some apprehen-
 " sions, he could not have held up his head
 " even against Lentulus: since with such an ac-
 " cuser, and such Judges; of the seventy-two,
 " who sat upon him, thirty-two condemned
 " him. The sentence is so infamous, that he
 " seems likely to fall in the other trials; espe-
 " cially that of plunder; but there's no repub-
 " lic, no Senate, no Justice, no dignity in any
 " of us: what can I say more of the Judges?
 " There were but two of them of Prætorian
 " rank, Domitius Calvinus, who acquitted him
 " so forwardly, that all the world might see it;
 " and Cato, who, as soon as the votes were de-
 " clared, ran officiously from the Bench, to car-
 " ry the first news to Pompey. Some say, and
 " particularly Sallust, that I ought to have ac-
 " cused him: but should I risk my credit with
 " such Judges? What a figure should I have
 " made, if he had escaped from me: But there
 " were other things, which influenced me:
 " Pompey would have considered it as a strug-
 " gle, not about Gabinius's safety, but his own
 " dignity: it must have made a breach between
 " us: we should have been matched like a pair
 " of Gladiators; as Pacidianus, with Æserninus

[a] Ego tamen me teneo nolo cum Pompeio pugnare;
 ab accusando vix mehercule. satis est, quod instat de Milo-
 Sed tamen teneo, vel quod ne.—Ib. 3. 2.

“ the *Samnite* ; he would probably have bitt off
 “ one of my ears, or been reconciled at least
 “ with *Clodius* — for after all the pains, which
 “ I had taken to serve him ; when I owed no-
 “ thing to him, he every thing to me ; yet he
 “ would not bear my differing from him in pub-
 “ lic affairs, to say no worfe of it ; and when
 “ he was less powerfull than he is at present,
 “ shewed what power he had against me, in my
 “ flourishing condition ; why should I now,
 “ when I have lost even all desire of power,
 “ when the Republic certainly has none ; when
 “ he alone has all ; chuse him of all men to
 “ contend with ? for that must have been the
 “ case : I cannot think that you would have
 “ advised me to it. *Sallust* says, that I ought
 “ to have done either the one or the other ;
 “ and in compliment to *Pompey* have defended
 “ him ; who begged it of me indeed very ear-
 “ nestly — A special friend this *Sallust* ! to wish
 “ me to involve myself either in a dangerous
 “ enmity, or perpetual infamy. I am delight-
 “ ed with my middle way ; and when I had
 “ given my testimony faithfully and religiously,
 “ was pleased to hear *Gabinus* say, that if it
 “ should be permitted to him to continue in the
 “ City, he would make it his business to give
 “ me satisfaction ; nor did he so much as interro-
 “ gate me——[*b*].” He gives the same ac-
 “ count of this trial to his other friends ; “ how
 “ *Lentulus* acted his part so ill, that people
 “ were persuaded that he prevaricated—— and
 “ that *Gabinus*’s escape was owing to the inde-
 “ fatigable industry of *Pompey*, and the corrup-
 “ tion of the Bench [*c*].”

A. Urb. 699.
 Cic. 53.
 Coss.
 L. DOMITIUS
 AHENO-
 BARBUS,
 A. CLAUDIUS
 PULCHER.

I 4

ABOUT

[*b*] Ad Quint. 3. 4.

[*c*] Quodmodo ergo abso-
 lutus ?

A. Urb. 699. ABOUT the time of this trial there happened
 Cic. 53. a terrible inundation of the Tiber, which did much
 Coll. damage at Rome: many houses and shops were
 L. DOMITIUS carried away by it, and the fine gardens of Ci-
 AHENO- cero's son-in-law, Crassipes, demolished. It was all
 BARBUS, charged to the absolution of Gabinius, after his
 A. CLAUDIUS daring violation of Religion, and contempt of the
 PULCHER. Sibyl's books: Cicero applies to it the following
 passage of Homer [d].

*As when in autumn Jove his fury pours,
 And earth is loaden with incessant showers;
 When guilty mortals break th' internal laws,
 And Judges brib'd betray the righteous cause,
 From their deep beds he bids the Rivers rise,
 And opens all the flood-gates of the skies.*

M. Pope, Il. 16. v. 466.

BUT Gabinius's danger was not yet over: he was to be tried a second time, *for the plunder of his Province*; where C. Memmius, one of the Tribuns, was his Accuser, and M. Cato his Judge, with whom he was not likely to find any favor: Pompey pressed Cicero to defend him, and would not admit of any excuse; and Gabinius's humble behaviour in the late trial was intended to make way for Pompey's sollicitation. Cicero stood firm for a long time: *Pompey*, says he, *labors hard with me, but has yet made no im-*

lulus?—Accusatorum incredibilis infamia, id est L. Lentuli, quem fremunt omnes prævaricatum; deinde Pompeii mira contentio, Judicium sordes. Ad Att. 4. 16.

[d] Romæ, & maxime

Appia ad Martis, mira proluvies. Crassipedis ambulatione ablata, horti, tabernæ plurimæ. Magna vis aquæ usque ad piscinam publicam. Viget illud Homeri—Cadit enim in absolutionem Gabinii.

—Ad Quint. 3. 7.

pression,

pression, nor, if I retain a grain of liberty, ever will [e];

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.

Oh! e'er that dire disgrace shall blast my fame,
O'erwhelm me earth——

Il. 4. 218.

L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

but Pompey's incessant importunity, backed by Cæsar's earnest request, made it vain to struggle any longer; and forced him against his judgement, his resolution, and his dignity, to defend Gabinius; at a time when his defence at last proved of no service to him; for he was found guilty by Cato, and condemned of course to a perpetual banishment. It is probable, that Cicero's Oration was never published, but as it was his custom to keep the minutes or rough draught of all his pleadings, in what he called *his Commentaries*, which were extant many ages after his death [f]; so St. Jerom has preserved from them a small fragment of this speech; which seems to be a part of the apology, that he found himself obliged to make for it; wherein he observes, “that when Pompey's authority had “once reconciled him to Gabinius, it was no “longer in his power to avoid defending him; “for it was ever my persuasion, *says he*, that “all friendships should be maintained with a religious exactness; but especially those, which “happen to be renewed from a quarrel: for in “friendships, that have suffered no interruption, “a failure of duty is easily excused by a plea of

[e] Pompeius a me valde contendit de reditu in gratiam, sed adhuc nihil profecit: nec si ullam partem libertatis tenebo, proficiet. — Ad Quin. 3. 1. §. 5.

De Gabinio nihil fuit faciendum istorum, &c. Τὸτε μοι χάρει. Il. 4. 218.

[f] Quod fecisse M. Tullium Commentariis ipsius apparet. Quintil. l. x. c. 7.

“inadvertency,

- A. Urb. 699. “inadvertency, or, at the worst, of negligence;
 Cic. 53. “whereas, if after a reconciliation any new of-
 fense be given, it never passes for negligent,
 L. DOMITIUS “but wilfull; and is not imputed to imprudence,
 AGENO- “but to perfidy [g].”
 BARBUS,

A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. THE Proconsul, Lentulus, who resided still in Cilicia, having had an account from *Rome*, of *Cicero's change of conduct*, and his defence of *Vatinius*, wrote a sort of expostulatory Letter to him, to know the reasons of it; telling him, *that he had heard of his reconciliation with Cæsar and Appianus, for which he did not blame him; but was at a loss how to account for his new friendship with Crassus; and above all, what it was that induced him to defend Vatinius.* This gave occasion to that long and elaborate answer from Cicero, already referred to, written before Gabinius's trial; which would otherwise have made his apology more difficult, in which he lays open the motives and progress of his whole behaviour from the time of his exile——“As to the case of Vatinius, “*he says*, as soon as he was chosen Prætor, “where I warmly opposed him, in favor of Ca- “to, Pompey prevailed with me to be recon- “ciled to him; and Cæsar afterwards took sur- “prizing pains with me to defend him; to “which I consented, for the sake of doing what, “as I told the court at the trial, *the Parasite*, in “*the Eunuch*, advised the Patron to do:

“*Whenever she talks of Phædria do you pre- “sently praise Pamphila, &c.* so I begged of “the Judges, that since certain persons of di- “tinguished rank, to whom I was much “obliged, were so fond of my enemy, and affect- “ed to caress him in the Senate before my face, “with all the marks of familiarity; and since

[g] Vid. Fragment. Orationum.—

“they

“ they had their Publius to give me jealousy, I
 “ might be allowed to have my Publius also, to
 “ teize them with in my turn——.” Then as to
 his general conduct, he makes this general de-
 fence; “ that the union and firmness of the
 “ honest, which subsisted when Lentulus left
 “ *Rome*, confirmed, *says he*, by my Consulship,
 “ and revived by yours, is now quite broken
 “ and deserted by those, who ought to have
 “ supported it, and were looked upon as Pa-
 “ triots; for which reason, the maxims and
 “ measures of all wise Citizens, in which class I
 “ always wish to be ranked, ought to be changed
 “ too: for it is a precept of Plato, whose au-
 “ thority has the greatest weight with me, to
 “ contend in public affairs, as far as we can per-
 “ suade our Citizens, but not to offer violence,
 “ either to our Parent or our Country——If I
 “ was quite free from all engagements, I should
 “ act therefore as I now do; should not think it
 “ prudent to contend with so great a power;
 “ nor if it could be effected, to extinguish it in
 “ our present circumstances; nor continue al-
 “ ways in one mind, when the things themselves
 “ and the sentiments of the honest are altered;
 “ since a perpetual adherence to the same measures
 “ has never been approved by those, who know
 “ best how to govern estates: but, as in sailing, it
 “ is the business of art to be directed by the
 “ weather, and foolish to persevere with danger in
 “ the course, in which we set out, rather than by
 “ changing it, to arrive with safety, though later,
 “ where we intended; so to us, who manage
 “ public affairs, the chief end proposed being
 “ dignity with public quiet, our business is not
 “ to be always saying, but always aiming at the
 “ same thing. Wherefore if all things, as I

A. Urb. 699.
 Cic. 53.
 Coss.
 L. DOMITIUS
 AHENO-
 BARBUS,
 A. CLAUDIUS
 PULCHER.

“ said,

- A. Urb. 699. "said, were wholly free to me, I should be the
Cic. 53. "same man that I now am : but when I am in-
Coff. "vited to this conduct on the one side by kind-
L. DOMITIUS "nesses, and driven to it on the other by injuries,
AHENO- "I easily suffer myself to vote and act what I
BARBUS, "take to be usefull both to myself and the Re-
A. CLAUDIUS "public ; and I do it the more freely, as well
PULCHER. "on the account of my Brother's being Cæsar's
"Lieutenant, as that there is not the least thing,
"which I have ever said or done for Cæsar, but
"what he has repaid with such eminent grati-
"tude, as persuades me, that he takes himself
"to be obliged to me ; so that I have as much
"use of all his power and interest, which you
"know to be the greatest, as if they were my
"own : nor could I otherwise have defeated the
"designs of my desperate enemies, if to those
"forces which I have always been master of, I
"had not joined the favor of the men of power.
"Had you been here to advise me, I am per-
"suaded, that I should have followed the same
"measures : for I know your good nature and
"moderation ; I know your heart, not onely
"the most friendly to me, but void of all ma-
"levolence to others ; great and noble, open
"and sincere, &c. [b]." He often defends him-
self on other occasions by the same allusion *to the*
art of sailing : "I cannot reckon it inconstancy,
"says he, to change and moderate our opinion,
"like the course of a ship, by the weather of
"the Republic ; this is what I have learnt, have
"observed, have read ; what the records of
"former ages have delivered, of the wisest and
"most eminent Citizens, both in this and all
"other Cities ; that the same maxims are not al-
"ways to be pursued by the same men ; but

[b] Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

"such,

“such, whatever they be, which the state of the
“Republic, the inclination of the times, the
“occasions of public peace require: this is what
“I am now doing, and shall always do——[i].”

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

THE trial of C. Rabirius Postumus, a person
of Equestrian rank, was an appendix to that of
Gabinus. It was one of the articles against
Gabinus, that he had received about two millions
for restoring King Ptolemy; yet all his estate,
which was to be found, was not sufficient to an-
swer the damages in which he was condemned;
nor could he give any security for the rest: in
this case, the method was to demand the defi-
ciency from those through whose hands the ma-
nagement of his money affairs had passed, and
who were supposed to have been sharers in the
spoil: this was charged upon Rabirius; and that
he had advised Gabinus to undertake the restoration
of the king, and accompanied him in it, and was
employed to solicit the payment of the money, and
lived at Alexandria for that purpose, in the King's
service, as the public Receiver of his taxes, and
wearing the Pallium or habit of the country.

CICERO urged in defence of Rabirius, “that
“he had born no part in that transaction; but
“that his whole crime, or rather folly, was, that
“he had lent the King great sums of money
“for his support at Rome; and ventured to trust
“a Prince, who, as all the world then thought,

[i] Neque enim inconstan-
tis puto, sententiam tanquam
aliquod navigium atque cur-
sum ex Reip. tempestate
moderari. Ego vero hæc
didici, hæc vidi, hæc scrip-
ta legi: hæc de sapientif-
imis & clarissimis viris, &
in hac Repub. & in aliis civi-

tatibus monumenta nobis &
literæ prodiderunt: non sem-
per easdem sententias ab iis-
dem, sed quasunque Reip.
status, inclinatio temporum,
ratio concordie postularet, ef-
se defendendas. Quod ego
& facio, & semper faciam.
—Pro Plancio 39.

“ was

A. Urb. 699. " was going to be restored by the authority of
 Cic. 53. " the *Roman* people: that the necessity of going
 Coss. " to *Ægypt* for the recovery of that debt, was
 L. DOMITIUS " the source of all his misery: where he was
 AHENO- " forced to take whatever the King would give or
 BARBUS, " impose: that it was his misfortune to be ob-
 A. CLAUDIUS " liged to commit himself to the power of an ar-
 PULCHER. " bitrary Monarch: that nothing could be more
 " mad than for a Roman Knight, and Citizen
 " of a Republic of all others the most free, to
 " go to any place, where he must needs be a
 " slave to the will of another; that all who ever
 " did so, as Plato and the wisest had sometimes
 " done too hastily, always suffered for it; this
 " was the case of Rabirius: necessity carried
 " him to *Alexandria*; his whole fortunes were
 " at stake [k]; which he was so far from im-
 " proving by his traffic with that King, that he
 " was ill treated by him, imprisoned, threatened
 " with death, and glad to run away at last with
 " the loss of all: and at that very time, it was
 " wholly owing to Cæsar's generosity, and re-
 " gard to the merit and misfortunes of an old
 " friend, that he was enabled to support his for-
 " mer rank and Equestrian dignity—[l]." Ga-
 binus's *trial* had so near a relation to this, and
 was so often referred to in it, that the Prosecu-
 tors could not omit so fair an opportunity of *ral-*
lying Cicero, for the part which he had acted in
 it: Memmius observed, *that the Deputies of Alex-*
andria had the same reason for appearing for Gabi-
nius, which Cicero had for defending him, the
command of a master—No, Memmius, replied Ci-
cero, my reason for defending him, was a reconcili-
ation with him; for I am not ashamed to own, that
my quarrels are mortal, my friendships immortal:

[k] Pro Rabir. 8, 9.

[l] Ib. 15.

and if you imagine, that I undertook that cause for A. Urb. 699.
fear of Pompey, you neither know Pompey, nor me; Cic. 53.
for Pompey would neither desire it of me against my Coff.
will, nor would I, after I had preserved the liberty L. DOMITIUS
of my Citizens, ever give up my own [m]. AHEO-
BARBUS,

VALERIUS MAXIMUS reckons Cicero's defence A. CLAUDIUS
of Gabinius and Vatinius, among the great and PULCHER.
laudable examples of humanity, which the Roman
History furnished; as it is nobler, he says, to con-
quer injuries with benefits, than to repay them in
kind, with an obstinacy of hatred [n]. This turn is
agreeable to the design of that writer, whose view
it seems to be, in the collection of his stories, to
give us rather what is strange, than true; and to
dress up facts as it were into fables, for the sake
of drawing a moral from them: for whatever Ci-
cero himself might say for it, in the flourishing
style of an oration, it is certain, that he knew and
felt it to be, what it really was, an indignity and
dishonour to him, which he was forced to submit
to by the iniquity of the times, and his engage-
ments with Pompey and Cæsar, as he often la-
ments to his friends in a very passionate strain:
I am afflicted, says he, *my dearest Brother, I am*
afflicted, that there is no Republic, no Justice in tri-
als; that this season of my life, which ought to flo-

[m] Ait etiam meus fami-
liaris, eandem causam Alex-
andrinis fuisse, cur laudarent
Gabinium, quæ mihi fuit,
cur eundem defenderem. Mi-
hi, C. Memmi, causa defen-
dendi Gabinii fuit reconcili-
atio gratiæ. Neque vero me
pœnitet, mortales inimicitias
semperiternas amicitias habere.
Nam si me invitum putas ne
Cn. Pompeii animum offen-
derem, defendisse causam, &

illum & me vehementer igno-
ras. Neque enim Pompeius
me sua causa quidquam fa-
cere voluisset invitum; ne-
que ego, cui omnium civium
libertas, carissima fuisset, me-
am projecissem—Pro C. Ra-
bir. Post. 12.

[n] Sed hujusce generis
humanitas etiam in M. Cice-
rone præcipua apparuit, &c.
Val. Max. 4. 2.

A. Urb. 699. *rish in the authority of the Senatorian character, is*
 Cic. 53. *either wasted in the drudgery of the Bar, or relieved*
 Coss. *only by domestic studies; that what I have ever been*
 L. DOMITIUS *fond of from a boy,*
 AHENO-

BARBUS,
 A. CLAUDIUS
 PULCHER.

*In every virtuous act and glorious strife
 To shine the first and best——*

is wholly lost and gone; that my enemies are partly not opposed, partly even defended by me; and neither what I love, nor what I hate, left free to me [o].

WHILE Cæsar was engaged in the British expedition, his Daughter Julia, Pompey's wife, died in child-bed at Rome, after she was delivered of a son, which died also soon after her. Her loss was not more lamented by the Husband and Father, who both of them tenderly loved her, than by all their common friends, and well-wishers to the public peace; who considered it as a source of fresh disturbance to the state, from the ambitious views and clashing interests of the Two Chiefs; whom the life of one so dear, and the relation of Son and Father seemed hitherto to have united by the ties both of duty and affection [p]. Cæsar is said to have born the news of

[o] Angor, mi suavissime frater, angor, nullam esse Remp. nulla judicia, nostrumque hoc tempus ætatis, quod in illa Senatoria auctoritate florere debebat, aut forensi labore jactari, aut domesticis litteris sustentari. Illud vero quod a puero adamaram,

Αἰὲν ἀρῖσεύειν, καὶ ὑπερσπύχον
 ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

Il. ζ. 208.

totum occidisse; inimicos a

me partim non oppugnatos; partim etiam esse defensos; meum non modo animum, sed ne odium quidem esse liberum—Ad. Quin. 3. 5.

[p] Cum medium jam, ex invidia potentiae male coherentis inter Cn. Pompeium & C. Cæsarem, concordiae pignus, Julia uxor Magni decessit——Filius quoque parvus, Julia natus, intra breve spatium obiit. Vell. Pat. 2. 47. Val. M. 4. 6.

her

her death with an uncommon firmness [q]: it is certain, that she had lived long enough to serve all the ends, which he proposed from that alliance, and to procure for him every thing that Pompey's power could give: for while Pompey, forgetfull of his honour and interest, was spending his time ingloriously at home, in the caresses of a young wife, and the delights of *Italy*; and, as if he had been onely Cæsar's agent, was continually decreeing fresh honors, troops, and money to him; Cæsar was pursuing the direct road to Empire; training his Legions in all the toils and discipline of a bloody war; himself always at their head, animating them by his courage, and rewarding them by his bounty; till from a great and wealthy Province, having raised money enough to corrupt, and an army able to conquer all who could oppose him, he seemed to want nothing for the vast execution of his designs, but a pretext to break with Pompey; which, as all wise men foresaw, could not long be wanted, when Julia, the cement of their union, was removed. For though the power of the Triumvirate had given a dangerous blow to the liberty of *Rome*, yet the jealousies and separate interests of the Chiefs obliged them to manage it with some decency; and to extend it but rarely, beyond the forms of the constitution; but whenever that league should happen to be dissolved, which had made them already too great for private subjects, the next contest of course must be for dominion, and the single mastery of the Empire.

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

[q] Cæsar — cum audivit munera. Senec. Consol. ad
decesisse filiam — inter ter- Helv. p. 116.
tium diem Imperatoria obiit

A. Urb. 699. ON the second of November, C. Pontinius triumphed over the *Allobroges*: he had been *Prætor*, when Cicero was *Consul*; and at the end of his Magistracy obtained the government of that part of *Gaul*, which having been tampering with *Catiline* in his conspiracy, broke out soon afterwards into open Rebellion, but was reduced by the vigor of this General. For this service, he demanded a *Triumph*, but met with great opposition, which he surmounted with incredible patience: for he persevered in his suit for five years successively; residing all that while, according to custom, in the suburbs of the City, till he gained his point at last by a kind of violence. Cicero was his friend, and continued in *Rome* on purpose to assist him; and the *Consul* Appius served him with all his power; but Cato protested, that Pontinius should never triumph while he lived; though this, says Cicero, like many of his other threats, will end at last in nothing. But the *Prætor Galba*, who had been his Lieutenant, having procured by stratagem an act of the people in his favor, he entered the City in his Triumphal Chariot, where he was so rudely received and opposed in his passage through the streets, that he was forced to make his way with his sword, and the slaughter of many of his adversaries [r].

IN the end of the year, Cicero consented to be one of Pompey's Lieutenants in Spain; which he

[r] Ea re non longius, quam vellem, quod Pontinio ad Triumphum volebam adesse: etenim erit nescio quid negotioli, &c. Ad Quin. 3. 5.

Pontinius vult A. D. IV. Non. Novemb. triumphare. Huic obviam Cato & Servi-

lius Prætores aperte, & Q. Mucius Tribunus—Sed erit cum Pontinio Appius Consul. Cato tamen affirmat, se vivo illum non triumphare, id ego puto, ut multa ejusdem, ad nihil recasurum—Ad Att. 4. 16. It. Dio. l. 39. p. 120.

began

began to think convenient to the present state of his affairs, and resolved to set forward for that Province, about the middle of January [s]: but this seemed to give some umbrage to Cæsar, who, by the help of Quintus, hoped to disengage him gradually from Pompey, and to attach him to himself; and with that view had begged of him, in his Letters, to continue at Rome [t], for the sake of serving himself with his authority, in all affairs which he had occasion to transact there; so that, out of regard probably to Cæsar's uneasiness, Cicero soon changed his mind, and resigned his lieutenancy: to which he seems to allude in a Letter to his Brother, where he says, that he had no second thoughts in whatever concerned Cæsar; that he would make good his engagements to him; and being entered into his friendship with judgement, was now attached to him by affection [u].

A. Urb. 699.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
L. DOMITIUS
AHENO-
BARBUS,
A. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER.

HE was employed at Cæsar's desire along with Oppius, in settling the plan of a most expensive and magnificent work, which Cæsar was going to execute at Rome, out of the spoils of Gaul; a new Forum, with many grand buildings annexed to it; for the area of which alone, they had contracted to pay to the several owners, about five hundred thousand pounds; or, as Suetonius computes, near double that sum [x]. Cicero calls it a glorious

[s] Sed heus tu, scripseramne tibi me esse legatum Pompeio; & extra urbem quidem fore, ex Id. Jan. visum est hoc mihi ad multa quadrare—Ad Att. 4. 18.

[t] Quod mihi tempus, Romæ præsertim, ut iste me rogat, manenti, vacuum ostenditur? Ad Quin. 2. 15.

[u] Ego vero nullas

res proprias habere possum in Cæsaris rebus—Videor id iudicio facere. Jam enim debeo: sed tamen amore sum incensus—Ad Quin. 3. 1. §. 5.

[x] Forum de manubiis inchoavit; cujus area super H. S. millies constitit. Suet. J. Cæs. 26.

- A. Urb. 699. *piece of work, and says, that the partitions, or en-*
 Cic. 53. *closures of the Campus Martius, in which the Tribes*
 Coss. *used to vote, were all to be made new of marble,*
 L. DOMITIUS *with a roof likewise of the same, and a stately Por-*
 AHENO- *tico carried round the whole, of a mile in Circuit,*
 BARBUS, *to which a public Hall or Town-house was to be*
 A. CLAUDIUS *joined [y]. While this building was going for-*
 PULCHER. *ward, L. Æmilius Paullus was employed in rais-*
ing another, not much inferior to it, at his own
expençe: for he repaired and beautified an ancient
Basilica in the old Forum; and built at the same
time a new one with Phrygian columns, which was
called after his own name; and is frequently men-
tioned by the later writers, as a Fabric of won-
derfull magnificence, computed to have cost him
three hundred thousand pounds [z].

- A. Urb. 700. THE new tribuns pursued the measures of
 Cic. 54. their Predecessors, and would not suffer an elec-
 tion of Consuls; so that when the new year
 came on, the Republic wanted its proper head:
 in this case the administration fell into the hands
 of an *Interrex*; a provisional Magistrate, who
 must necessarily be a *Patrician*, and chosen by the
 body of *Patricians*, called together for that pur-

[y] Itaque Cæsaris amici
 (me dico & Oppium, dirum-
 paris licet) in monumentum
 illud, quod tu tollere laudibus
 solebas, ut Forum laxaremus,
 & usque ad Libertatis atrium
 explicaremus, consumimus
 H. S. Sexcenties: cum pri-
 vatis non poterat transigi mi-
 nore pecunia. Efficiemus
 rem gloriosissimam. Nam in
 Campo Martio septa Tribu-
 tis comitiis marmorea sumus,

& testâ facturi, eaque cinge-
 mus excelsa porticu, ut mille
 passuum conficiatur. Simul
 adjungetur huic operi, villa
 etiam publica — Ad Att. 4.
 16.

[z] Paullus in medio Fo-
 ro Basilicam jam pæne texuit,
 iidem antiquis columnis: il-
 lam autem, quam locavit,
 facit magnificentissimam. Ni-
 hil gratius illo monumento,
 nihil gloriosius—Ibid.—

pose by the Senate [a]. His power however was but short-lived, being transferred, *every five days, from one Interrex to another*, till an election of Consuls could be obtained; but the Tribuns, whose authority was absolute, while there were no Consuls to controul them, continued fierce against any election at all: some were for reviving *the ancient dignity of military Tribuns*; but that being unpopular, a more plausible Scheme was taken up and openly avowed, *of declaring Pompey Dictator*. This gave great apprehensions to the City, for the memory of *Sylla's Dictatorship*; and was vigorously opposed by all the Chiefs of the Senate, and especially by Cato: Pompey chose to keep himself out of sight, and retired into the country, to avoid the suspicion of affecting it. "The rumor of a Dictatorship, *says Cicero*, is disagreeable to the honest; but the other things, which they talk of, are more so to me; the whole affair is dreaded, but flags: Pompey flatly disclaims it, though he never denied it to me before: the Tribun Hirrus will probably be the promoter: good Gods! how silly and fond of himself without a rival? At Pompey's request, I have deterred Crassus Junianus, who pays great regard to me, from meddling with it. It is hard to know whether Pompey really desires it or not; but if Hirrus stir in it, he will not convince us, that he is averse to it [b]." In another Letter;
 "Nothing

[a] Vid. Aſcon. argument. in Milon.—

[b] Rumor Dictatoris injucundus bonis: mihi etiam magis quæ loquuntur. Sed tota res & timetur & refrigerat. Pompeius plane se

negat velle: antea ipse mihi non negabat. Hirrus auctor fore videtur. O Dii, quam ineptus, & quam se amans sine rivali! Crassum Junianum, hominem mihi deditum, per me deterruit. Velit, nolit, K 3 scire

A. Urb. 700. "Nothing is yet done as to the Dictatorship;
 Cic. 54. "Pompey is still absent; Appius in a great bustle; Hirrus preparing to oppose it; but several are named as ready to interpose their negative: the people do not trouble their heads about it; the Chiefs are against it: I keep myself quiet [c]." Cicero's friend, Milo, was irresolute how to act on this occasion; he was forming an interest for the Consulship; and if he declared against a Dictatorship, was afraid of making Pompey his enemy; or if he should not help the opponents, that it would be carried by force; in both which cases, his own pretensions were sure to be disappointed: he was inclined therefore to join in the opposition, but so far onely as to repel any violence [d].

THE Tribuns in the mean time were growing every day more and more insolent, and engrossing all power to themselves; till Q. Pompeius Rufus, the Grandson of Sylla, and the most factious espouser of a Dictator, was, by a resolute decree of the Senate, committed to prison: and Pompey himself, upon his return to the City, finding the greater and better part utterly averse to his Dictatorship, yielded at last, after an Interregnum of six months, that Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and M. Messala, should be declared Consuls [e]. These were agreeable likewise to Cæsar: Cicero had particularly recommended

scire difficile est. Hirro tamen agente, nolle se non probabit—Ad Quint. 3. 8.

[c] De Dictatore tamen actum nihil est. Pompeius abest; Appius miscet: Hirrus parat: multi intercessores numerantur: populus non curat: principes nolunt: ego quiesco—Ib. 9.

[d] Hoc horret Milo — & si ille Dictator factus sit, pæne diffidit. Intercessorem dictaturæ si juverit manu & præsidio suo Pompeium metuit inimicum; si non juverit, timet, ne per vim perferatur—Ib. 8.

[e] Vid. Dio. l. 40. p. 141.

Messala

Messala to him; of whom, he says in a Letter to his Brother; *As to your reckoning Messala and Calvinus sure Consuls, you agree with what we think here; for I will be answerable to Cæsar for Messala* [f].

A. Urb. 700.
Cic. 54.
Coff.
CN. DOMITI-
US CALVI-
NUS,
M. VALERIUS
MESSALA.

BUT after all this Bustle about a *Dictator*, there seems to have been no great reason for being much afraid of it at this time: for the Republic was in so great a disorder, that nothing less than the *Dictatorial* power could reduce it to a tolerable state: some good of that kind might reasonably be expected from Pompey, without the fear of any great harm, while there was so sure a check upon him as Cæsar; who, upon any exorbitant use of that power, would have had the Senate and all the better sort on his side, by the specious pretence of asserting the public liberty: Cicero therefore judged rightly, in thinking, that there were other things, which might be apprehended, and seemed likely to happen, that, in their present situation, were of more dangerous consequence than a *Dictatorship*.

THERE had scarce been so long an *Interregnum* in Rome, since the expulsion of their Kings; during which, all public business, and especially all judicial proceedings, were wholly interrupted: which explains a jocular passage in one of Cicero's *Letters to Trebatius*; if you had not already, says he, been absent from Rome, you would certainly have run away now: for what business is there for a Lawyer in so many *Interregnums*? I advise all my Clients, if sued in any action, to move every In-

[f] Messalam quod certum Consulem cum Domitio numeratis, nihil a nostra opinatione dissentitis. Ego Messalam Cæsari præstabo—Ad Quint. 3. 8.

A. Urb. 700. *terrex twice for more time : do not you think, that*
 Cic. 54. *I have learnt the law of you to good purpose [g] ?*
 Coss.

CN. DOMITI- HE now began a correspondence of Letters
 US CALVI- with Curio, a young Senator of distinguished
 NUS, birth and parts, who upon his first entrance into
 M. VALERIUS the Forum had been committed to his care, and
 MESSALA. was at this time *Quæstor in Asia*. He was pos-
 sessed of a large and splendid fortune, by the
 late death of his Father; so that Cicero, who
 knew his high spirit and ambition, and that he
 was formed to do much good or hurt to his
 country, was desirous to engage him early in the
 interests of the Republic; and by instilling great
 and generous sentiments, to inflame him with a
 love of true glory. Curio had sent orders to his
 agents at *Rome, to proclame a shew of gladiators in*
honor of his deceased Father : but Cicero stopt the
 declaration of it for a while, in hopes to dissuade
 him from so great and fruitless an expence [b].
 He foresaw, that nothing was more likely to
 corrupt his virtue than the ruin of his fortunes;
 or to make him a dangerous Citizen, than pro-
 digality : to which he was naturally inclined, and
 which Cicero, for that reason, was the more de-
 sirous to check at his first setting out : but all his
 endeavours were to no purpose; Curio resolved
 to give *the shew of Gladiators*; and by a continual
 profusion of his money, answerable to this be-
 ginning, after he had acted the Patriot for some

[g] Nisi ante Roma pro-
 fectus esses, nunc eam certe
 relinqueres. Quis enim tot
 interregni's Jurisconsultum de-
 siderat? Ego omnibus, unde
 petitar, hoc consilii dederim,
 ut a singulis Interregibus bi-
 nas advocaciones postulent.
 Satisne tibi videor abs te jus

civile didicisse? Ep. Fam. 7. 11.

[b] Rupæ Studium non de-
 fuit declarandorum munerum
 tuo nomine: sed nec mihi
 placuit, nec cuiquam tuorum,
 quidquam te absente fieri,
 quod tibi, cum venisses, non
 esset integrum, &c. Ep. Fam.
 2, 3.

time

time with credit and applause, was reduced at last to the necessity of selling himself to Cæsar.

A. Urb. 700.
Cic. 54.
Coff.
CN. DOMITI-
US CALVI-
NUS,
M. VALERIUS
MESSALA.

THERE is but little of politics in these Letters, besides some general complaints, *of the lost and desperate state of the Republic*: in one of them, after reckoning up the various subjects of Epistolary writing; *shall I joke with you then*, says he, *in my Letters? On my conscience, there is not a Citizen, I believe, who can laugh in these times: or shall I write something serious? But what can Cicero write seriously to Curio, unless it be on the Republic? where my case at present is such, that I have no inclination to write, what I do not think—[i].* In another, after putting him in mind of the incredible expectation which was entertained of him at Rome; “not that I am afraid, *says he*, “that your virtue should not come up to the “opinion of the public; but rather, that you “find nothing worth caring for at your return; “all things are so ruined and oppressed: but I “question whether it be prudent to say so much “—It is your part however, whether you retain “any hopes, or quite despair, to adorn yourself “with all those accomplishments, which can “qualify a Citizen, in wretched times and pro- “fligate morals, to restore the Republic to its “ancient dignity [k].”

THE first news from abroad after the inauguration of the Consuls, was of the miserable *death*

[i] Jocerne tecum per literas? civem mehercule non puto esse, qui temporibus his ridere possit. An gravius aliquid scribam? Quid est quod possit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem, nisi de Rep.? Atque in hoc genere hæc mea causa est, ut neque

ea, quæ non sentio, velim scribere—ib. 4.

[k] Non quo verear ne tua virtus opinioni hominum non respondeat: sed mehercule, ne cum veneris, non habeas jam quod cures: ita sunt omnia debilitata jam prope & extincta, &c. ib. 5.

A. Urb. 700. of Crassus and his son Publius, with the total defeat
 Cic. 54. of his army by the Parthians. This was one of
 Coss. the greatest blows that Rome had ever received
 Cn. Domiti- from a foreign enemy, and for which it was ever
 us Calvi- after meditating revenge: the Roman writers ge-
 nus, nerally imputed it to Crassus's contempt of the Au-
 M. Valerius spices; as some Christians have since charged it,
 Messala. to his sacrilegious violation of the Temple of Jerusa-
 lem, which he is said to have plundered of two
 millions; both of them with equal Superstition
 pretending to unfold the counsils of heaven, and
 to fathom those depths, which are declared to be
 unsearchable [1]. The chief and immediate con-
 cern, which the City felt on this occasion, was
 for the detriment that the Republic had suffered,
 and the danger to which it was exposed, by the
 loss of so great an army; yet the principal mis-
 chief lay in what they did not at first regard,
 and seemed rather to rejoice at, *the loss of Crassus
 himself*. For after the death of Julia, Crassus's
 authority was the onely means left of curbing
 the power of Pompey, and the ambition of Cæ-
 sar; being ready always to support the weaker,
 against the encroachments of the stronger; and
 keep them both within the bounds of a decent
 respect to the laws: but this check being now
 taken away, and the power of the Empire
 thrown, as a kind of prize, between Two; it
 gave a new turn to their several pretensions; and
 created a fresh competition for the larger share;
 which, as the event afterwards shewed, must ne-
 cessarily end in the subversion of the whole.

[1] M. Crasso quid accide-
 rit, videmus dirarum obnun-
 ciatione neglecta. [De Dio,
 l. 16.]

Being for his impious sa-
 crilege at Jerusalem justly

destined to destruction, God
 did cast insatuations into all
 his counsils, for the leading
 him thereto——Prideaux.
 Connect. Par. 2. p. 362.

PUBLIUS

PUBLIUS CRASSUS, who perished with his Father in this fatal expedition, was a youth of an amiable character; educated with the strictest care, and perfectly instructed in all the liberal studies; he had a ready wit and easy language; was grave without arrogance, modest without negligence, adorned with all the accomplishments proper to form a principal Citizen and Leader of the Republic: by the force of his own judgement he had devoted himself very early to the observance and imitation of Cicero, whom he perpetually attended, and revered with a kind of *filial piety*. Cicero conceived a mutual affection for him, and observing his eager thirst of glory, was constantly instilling into him the true notion of it; and exhorting him to pursue that sure path to it, which his ancestors had left beaten and traced out to him, through the gradual ascent of civil honours. But, by serving under Cæsar in the *Gallic* wars, he had learnt, as he fancied, a shorter way to fame and power, than what Cicero had been inculcating; and having signalized himself in a campaign or two as a soldier, was in too much haste to be a General; when Cæsar sent him at the head of a thousand horse, to the assistance of his Father in the *Parthian* war. Here the vigour of his youth and courage carried him on so far, in the pursuit of an enemy, whose chief art of conquest consisted in flying, that he had no way left to escape, but what his high spirit disdained, by the desertion of his troops, and a precipitate flight; so that finding himself opposed with numbers, cruelly wounded, and in danger of falling alive into the hands of the *Parthians*, he chose to die by the sword of his Armour-bearer. Thus while he aspired, as Cicero says, to the fame of another Cyrus or Alexander,

A. Urb. 700.
Cic. 54.
Coff.
CN. DOMITI-
US CALVI-
NUS,
M. VALERIUS
MESSALA.

A. Urb. 700. ander, he fell short of that glory, which many of
 Cic. 54. his Predecessors had reaped, from a succession of
 Coss. honours, conferred by their country, as the reward of
 CN. DOMITI- their services [m].
 US CALVI-

NUS,
 M. VALERIUS By the death of Young Crassus, a place became
 MESSALA. vacant in the College of Augurs, for which Cicero
 declared himself a Candidate: nor was any one
 so hardy as to appear against him, except Hirrus,
 the Tribun, who trusting to the popularity of his
 office and Pompey's favor, had the vanity to
 pretend to it: but a Competition so unequal fur-
 nished matter of raillery onely to Cicero; who
 was chosen without any difficulty or struggle, with
 the unanimous approbation of the whole body [n].
 This College, from the last regulation of it by
 Sylla, consisted of fifteen, who were all persons
 of the first distinction in Rome: it was a priest-
 hood for life, of a character indelible; which no
 crime or forfeiture could efface: the Priests of all
 kinds were originally chosen by their Colleges;
 till Domitius, a Tribun, about fifty years before,
 transferred the choice of them to the people;
 whose authority was held to be supreme in sacred,

[m] Hoc magis sum Pub-
 lio deditus, quod me quan-
 quam a pueritia semper, ta-
 men hoc tempore maxime,
 sicut alterum parentem &
 observat & diligit [Ep. Fam.
 5. 8.]

P. Crassum ex omni nobi-
 litate adolescentem dilexi plu-
 rimum, &c. [ib. 13. 16.]

Cum P. Crasso, cum initio
 ætatis ad amicitiam se me-
 am contulisset, sæpe egisse
 me arbitror, cum eum ve-
 hementissime hortarer, ut e-
 am laudis viam rectissimam

esse duceret, quam majores
 ejus ei tritam reliquissent.
 Erat enim cum institutus op-
 time, tum plane perfecteque
 eruditus. Ineratque & inge-
 nium satis acre, & orationis
 non inelegans copia: præter-
 eaque sine arrogantia gravis
 esse videbatur, & sine segni-
 tie verecundus, &c. Vid.
 Brut. p. 407. It. plut. in
 Crass.

[n] Quomodo Hirrum pu-
 tas Auguratus tui competito-
 rem—Ep. Fam. 8. 3.

as well as civil affairs [o]. This act was reversed by Sylla, and the ancient right restored to the Colleges; but Labienus, when Tribun, in Cicero's Consulship, recalled the law of Domitius, to facilitate Cæsar's advancement to the High-Priesthood: it was necessary however, *that every Candidate should be nominated to the people by two Augurs, who gave a solemn testimony upon oath of his dignity and fitness for the office*: this was done in Cicero's case by Pompey and Hortensius, the two most eminent members of the College; and after the election, he was installed with all the usual formalities by Hortensius [p].

A. Urb. 700.
Cic. 54.
Coff.
CN. DOMITI-
US CALVI-
NUS,
M. VALERIUS
MESSALA.

As in the last year, so in this, the factions of the City prevented the choice of Consuls: the Candidates, T. Annius Milo, Q. Metellus Scipio, and P. Plautius Hypsæus, pushed on their several interests with such open violence and bribery, as if the Consulship was to be carried onely by *money or arms* [q]. Clodius was putting in at the same time for the Prætorship, and employing all his credit and interest to disappoint Milo, by whose obtaining the Consulship, *he was sure to be eclipsed and controuled, in the exercise of his subordinate magistracy* [r]. Pompey was wholly averse to Milo, who did not pay him that court, which

[o] Atque hoc idem de cæteris Sacerdotis Cn. Domitius Tribunus Pl. tulit, &c. De Leg. Ag. 2. 7.

[p] Quo enim tempore me Augurem a toto Collegio expetitur Cn. Pompeius & Q. Hortensius nominaverunt; neque enim licebat a pluribus nominari—Philip. 2. 2.

Cooptatum me ab eo in collegium recordabar, in quo

juratus judicium dignitatis meæ fecerat: & inauguratum ab eodem, ex quo, augurum institutis in parentis eum loco colere debebam. Brut. init.——

[q] Plutar. in Cato.——

[r] Occurrebat ei, mancam ac debilem Præturam suam futuram Consule Milone—Pro Milon. 9.

A. Urb. 700. he expected, but seemed to affect an independency, and to trust to his own strength, while the other two competitors were wholly at his devotion: Hypsæus had been *his Quæstor*, and always his Creature; and he designed to make Scipio *his Father-in-law*, by marrying his daughter Cornelia, a Lady of celebrated accomplishments, the widow of *young Crassus*.

Cic. 54.
Coff.
CN. DOMITI-
US CALVI-
NUS,
M. VALERIUS
MESSALA.

CICERO, on the other hand, served Milo to the utmost of his power, and ardently wished his success: this he owed to Milo's constant attachment to him, which at all hazards he now resolved to repay: the affair however was likely to give him much trouble, as well from the difficulty of the opposition, as from Milo's own conduct, and unbounded prodigality, which threatened the ruin of all his fortunes; in a Letter to his Brother, who was still with Cæsar, he says, " Nothing
" can be more wretched than these men and
" these times: wherefore since no pleasure can
" now be had from the Republic, I know not
" why I should make myself uneasy: books,
" study, quiet, my country houses, and above
" all, my children are my sole delight: Milo is
" my onely trouble: I wish his Consulship may
" put an end to it; in which I will not take less
" pains, than I did in my own; and you will
" assist us there also, as you now do: all things
" stand well with him, unless some violence de-
" feat us: I am afraid onely, how his money
" will hold out: for he is mad beyond all bounds
" in the magnificence of his shews, which he is
" now preparing at the expence of 250000*l*.
" but it shall be my care to check his inconfide-
" rateness in this one article, as far as I am able,
" &c [s]." IN

[s] Itaque ex Rep. quoniam nihil jam voluptatis capi

IN the heat of this competition, Curio was coming home from *Asia*, and expected shortly at *Rome*; whence Cicero sent an express to meet him on the road, or at his landing in *Italy*, with a most earnest and pressing Letter to engage him to Milo's interest.

M. T. Cicero, to C. Curio.

“ BEFORE we had yet heard of your coming A. Urb. 701.
 “ towards *Italy*, I sent away S. Villius, Milo's Cic. 55.
 “ friend, with this Letter to you: but when
 “ your arrival was supposed to be near, and it
 “ was known for certain, that you had left *Asia*,
 “ and were upon the road to *Rome*, the impor-
 “ tance of the subject left no room to fear, that
 “ we should be thought to send too hastily
 “ when we were desirous to have it delivered to
 “ you as soon as possible. If my services to you,
 “ Curio, were really so great, as they are pro-
 “ claimed to be by you, rather than considered
 “ by me, I should be more reserved in asking,
 “ if I had any great favor to beg of you: for it

pi potest; cur stomacher, nescio. Litteræ me & studia nostra, & otium; Villæque delectant, maximeque pueri nostri. Angit unus Milo. Sed velim finem afferat Consulatus: in quo enitar non minus quam sum enifus in nostro: tuque istinc, quod facis, adjuvabis. De quo cætera (nisi plane vis eripuerit) recte sunt: de re familiari timeo.

Ο δὲ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ ἀνελπίστῳ--

Qui ludos H. S. CCC. com-

paret. Cujus in hoc uno inconsiderantiam & ego sustinebo, ut potero—Ad Quint. 3. 9.

Cicero had great reason for the apprehensions, which he expresses on account of Milo's extravagance: for Milo had already wasted three estates in giving plays and shews to the people; and when he went soon after into exile was found to owe still above half a million of our money. Plin. l. 36. 15. Ascon. Argum. in Milon.

“ goes

A. Urb. 701. " goes hard with a modest man, to ask any
 Cic. 55. " thing considerable of one, whom he takes to
 " be obliged to him; lest he be thought to de-
 " mand, rather than to ask: and to look upon
 " it as a debt, not as a kindness. But since your
 " services to me, so eminently displayed in my
 " late troubles, are known to all to be the greatest;
 " and it is the part of an ingenuous mind, to
 " wish to be more obliged to those, to whom
 " we are already much obliged; I made no
 " scruple to beg of you by Letter, what of all
 " things is the most important and necessary to
 " me. For I am not afraid lest I should not
 " be able to sustain the weight of all your fa-
 " vors, though ever so numerous; being con-
 " fident, that there is none so great, which my
 " mind is not able, both fully to contain, and
 " amply to requite and illustrate. I have placed
 " all my studies, pains, care, industry, thoughts,
 " and in short, my very soul, on Milo's Consul-
 " ship; and have resolved with myself, to ex-
 " pect from it, not only the common fruit of
 " duty, but the praise even of piety: nor was
 " any man, I believe, ever so solicitous for his
 " own safety and fortunes, as I am for his ho-
 " nor; on which I have fixed all my views and
 " hopes. You, I perceive, can be of such ser-
 " vice to him, if you please, that we shall have
 " no occasion for any thing farther. We have
 " already with us the good wishes of all the
 " honest, engaged to him by his Tribunate;
 " and, as you will imagine also, I hope, by his
 " attachment to me: of the populace and the
 " multitude, by the magnificence of his shews,
 " and the generosity of his nature: of the youth
 " and men of interest, by his own peculiar cre-
 " dit or diligence among that sort: he has all
 " my

" my assistance likewise, which though of little
 " weight, yet being allowed by all to be just and
 " due to him, may perhaps be of some influence.
 " What we want, is a Captain and Leader, or
 " a Pilot, as it were, of all those winds; and
 " were we to chuse one out of the whole City,
 " we could not find a man so fit for the purpose
 " as you. Wherefore, if from all the pains,
 " which I am now taking for Milo, you can be-
 " lieve me to be mindfull of benefits; if grate-
 " full; if a good man; if worthy in short of
 " your kindness; I beg of you to relieve my
 " present sollicitude, and lend your helping hand
 " to my praise; or, to speak more truly, to my
 " safety. As to T. Annius himself, I promise
 " you, if you embrace him, that you will not
 " find a man of a greater mind, gravity, con-
 " stancy, or of greater affection to you: and as
 " for myself, you will add such a luster and fresh
 " dignity to me, that I shall readily own you,
 " to have shewn the same zeal for my honor,
 " which you exerted before for my preservation.
 " If I was not sure, from what I have already
 " said, that you would see how much I take my
 " duty to be interested in this affair, and how
 " much it concerns me, not only to struggle,
 " but even to fight for Milo's success, I should
 " press you still farther; but I now recommend
 " and throw the whole cause, and myself also
 " with it, into your hands; and beg of you, to
 " assure yourself of this one thing; that if I ob-
 " tain this favor from you, I shall be more in-
 " debted almost to you, than even to Milo
 " himself; since my safety, in which I was prin-
 " cipally assisted by him, was not so dear, as
 " the piety of shewing my gratitude will be
 " agreeable to me; which I am persuaded, I

A. Urb. 701. "shall be able to effect by your assistance.
Cic. 55. "Adieu [t]."

THE Senate and the better sort were generally in Milo's interest: but *Three of the Tribuns* were violent against him, Q. Pompeius Rufus, Munatius Plancus Bursa, and Sallust *the Historian*; the other seven were his fast friends, but above all M. Cælius, who, out of regard to Cicero, served him with a particular zeal. But while all things were proceeding very prosperously in his favor, and nothing seemed wanting to crown his success, but to bring on the election, which his adversaries, for that reason, were laboring to keep back; all his hopes and fortunes were blasted at once by an unhappy rencounter with his old enemy Clodius, in which Clodius *was killed by his servants, and by his command.*

THEIR meeting was wholly accidental, on the *Appian* road, not far from the City; Clodius coming home from the country towards *Rome*; Milo going out about three in the afternoon; the first on horseback, with three companions, and thirty servants well armed; the latter in a Chariot with his wife and one friend, but with a much greater retinue, and among them some Gladiators. The servants on both sides began presently to insult each other; when Clodius turning briskly to some of Milo's men, who were nearest to him, and threatening them with his usual fierceness, received a wound in his shoulder, from one of the Gladiators; and after receiving several more in the general fray, which instantly ensued, finding his life in danger, was forced to fly for shelter into a neighbouring Tavern. Milo heated by this success, and the thoughts of revenge,

[t] Ep. Fam. 2. 6.

and

and reflecting, that he had already done enough to give his enemy a great advantage against him, if he was left alive to pursue it, resolved, whatever was the consequence, to have the pleasure of destroying him, and so ordered the house to be stormed, and Clodius to be dragged out and murdered: the master of the Tavern was likewise killed, with eleven of Clodius's servants, while the rest saved themselves by flight: so that Clodius's body was left in the road, where it fell, till S. Tedi-
 us, a Senator, happening to come by, took it up into his Chaise, and brought it with him to *Rome*; where it was exposed in that condition, all covered with blood and wounds, to the view of the populace, who flocked about it in crowds to lament the miserable fate of their Leader. The next day the mob, headed by S. Clodius, a kinsman of the deceased, and one of his chief Incendiaries, carried the body naked, so as all the wounds might be seen, into the Forum, and placed it in the *Rostra*; where the Three Tribuns, Milo's enemies, were prepared to harangue upon it in a stile suited to the lamentable occasion, by which they inflamed their mercenaries to such a height of fury, that snatching up the body, they ran away with it into the Senate-house, and tearing up the benches, tables, and every thing combustible, dressed up a funeral pile upon the spot, and, together with the body, burnt the house itself, with a *Basilica* also, or public Hall adjoining, called the *Porcian*; and, in the same fit of madness, proceeded to storm the house of Milo, and of M. Lepidus, the Interrex, but were repulsed in both attacks, with some loss [u].

THESE

[u] Quanquam re vera, fuerat pugna fortuita. Quintil.

1. 6. c. 5.

Ἐλπίσας—ἔχον τὴν φόνον τε-
 λεύησας] &c
 L 2

A. Urb. 701.

Cic. 55.

THESE extravagancies raised great indignation in the City; and gave a turn in favor of Milo; who looking upon himself as undone, was meditating nothing before, but a *voluntary exile*: but now taking courage, he ventured to appear in public, and was introduced *into the Rostra by Cælius*; where he made his defence to the people; and, to mitigate their resentment, distributed through all the Tribes *above three pounds a man, to every poor Citizen*. But all his pains and expence were to little purpose; for *the three Tribuns* employed all the arts of party and faction to keep up the ill humor of the populace; and what was more fatal, Pompey would not be brought into any measures of accommodating the matter; so that the tumults still encreasing, the Senate passed a decree, *that the Interrex, assisted by the Tribuns and Pompey, should take care, that the Republic received no detriment; and that Pompey, in particular, should raise a body of troops for the common security*; which he presently drew together from all parts of Italy. In this confusion, *the rumor of a Dictator was again industriously revived*, and gave a fresh alarm to the Senate; who, to avoid the greater evil, resolved presently to *create Pompey the single Consul*: so that the Interrex, *Servius Sulpicius*, declared his election accordingly, after an Interregnum of near two months [x].

λεψήσωντο αὐτῶ, ἢ τῷ τραυ-
ματος, εἰ περιγίγνοιτο, ἀρσθή-
σεισθαι. Dio. l. 40. p. 143.

Milo, ut cognovit vulneratum Clodium, cum sibi periculosus illud etiam, vivo eo, futurum intelligeret, occiso autem magnum solatium esset habiturus, etiam si subeunda

pœna esset, exturbari tabernam jussit. — Ita Clodius latens extractus est, multisque vulneribus confectus — &c. Vid. Asconii Argum. in Milon.

[x] Vid. Dio. ibid. & Ascon. Argum.

POMPEY applied himself immediately to calm the public disorders, and published several *new Laws*, prepared by him for that purpose: one of them was, to appoint a *special commission to inquire into Clodius's death, the burning of the Senate-house, and the attack on M. Lepidus*; and to appoint an *extraordinary Judge, of Consular rank, to preside in it*: a second was, *against bribery and corruption in elections, with the infliction of new and severer penalties*. By these laws, the method of trials was altered, and the length of them limited: *three days were allowed for the examination of witnesses, and the fourth for the sentence; on which the accuser was to have two hours only, to enforce the charge; the Criminal three, for his defence [y]*: which regulation Tacitus seems to consider, as the first step towards the ruin of the Roman eloquence: by imposing reins, as it were, upon its free and ancient course [z]. Cælius opposed his negative to these Laws, as being rather *privileges than Laws*, and provided particularly against Milo: but he was soon obliged to withdraw it, upon Pompey's declaring, *that he would support them by force of Arms*. The three Tribuns, all the while, were perpetually haranguing, and terrifying the City with forged stories, of *magazines of arms prepared by Milo, for massacring his enemies, and burning the City*; and produced their creatures in the *Rostra*, to vouch the truth of them to the people: they charged him particularly with a design against Pompey's life; and brought one *Licinius, a killer of the victims for sacrifice, to declare that Milo's servants had confessed it to him in their cups, and then endeavoured to kill him, lest*

A. Urb. 701
Cic. 55.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS III.
Sine Collega

[y] Ibid.

[z] Primus tertio Confu-
latu Cn. Pompeius astrinxit,

imposuitque veluti frænos e-
loquentiæ—&c. Dialog. de
Orator. 38.

L 3

he

A. Urb. 701. *he should discover it : and to make his story the more*
 Cic. 55. *credible, shewed a slight wound in his side, made by*
 Cn. POMPEI- *himself, which he affirmed to have been given by*
 US MAG- *the stroke of a Gladiator. Pompey himself con-*
 NUS III. *firmed this fact, and laid an account of it before the*
 Sine Collega. *Senate ; and by doubling his guard affected to in-*
timate a real apprehension of danger [a]. Nor
were they less industrious to raise a clamor against
Cicero ; and, in order to deter him from pleading
Milo's cause, threatened him also with trials and
prosecutions ; giving it out every where, that
Clodius was killed indeed by the hand of Milo, but
by the advice and contrivance of a greater man [b].
Yet such was his constancy to his friend, says
Asconius, that neither the loss of popular favor,
nor Pompey's suspicions, nor his own danger, nor
the terror of arms, could divert him from the resolu-
tion of undertaking Milo's defence [c].

BUT it was Pompey's influence and authority,
which ruined Milo [d]. He was the onely man
 in Rome who had the power either to bring
 him to a trial, or to get him condemned : not
 that he was concerned for Clodius's death, or
 the manner of it, but pleased rather, that the

[a] Audiendus Popa I-ici-
 nius, nescio qui de Circo
 maximo, servos Milonis apud
 se ebrios factos confessos esse,
 de interficiendo Cn. Pompeio
 conjurasse--de amicorum sen-
 tentia rem desert ad Senatum
 —Pro Milon. 24.

[b] Scitis, Judices, fuisse,
 qui in hac rogatione suaden-
 da dicerent, Milonis manu
 cædem esse factam, consilio
 vero majoris alicujus : vide-
 licet me latronem & sicarium
 abjecti homines describebant.

Ib. 18.

[c] Tanta tamen constantia
 ac fides fuit Ciceronis, ut non
 populi a se alienatione, non
 Cn. Pompeii suspicionibus,
 non periculi futuri metu,—
 non armis, quæ palam in
 Milonem sumpta erant, de-
 terreri potuerit a defensione
 ejus. Argum. Milon.

[d] Milonem reum non
 magis invidia facti, quam
 Pompeii damnavit voluntas,
 Vell. P. 2. 47.

Republic was freed at any rate from so pestilent a Demagogue; yet he resolved to take the benefit of the occasion, for getting rid of Milo too, from whose ambition and high spirit he had cause to apprehend no less trouble. He would not listen therefore to any overtures, which were made to him by Milo's Friends; and when Milo offered to drop his suit for the Consulship, if that would satisfy him, he answered, *that he would not concern himself with any man's suing or desisting, nor give any obstruction to the power and inclination of the Roman people.* He attended the trial in person with a strong guard to preserve peace, and prevent any violence from either side: there were many clear and positive proofs produced against Milo, though some of them were supposed to be forged: among the rest, the *Vestal virgins deposed, that a woman unknown came to them, in Milo's name, to discharge a vow, said to be made by him, on the account of Clodius's death* [e].

WHEN the examination was over, Munatius Plancus called the people together, and exhorted them to appear in a full body the next day, when judgement was to be given, and to declare their sentiments in so public a manner, that the criminal might not be suffered to escape; which Cicero reflects upon in the defence, as an insult on the liberty of the Bench [f]. Early in the morning, *on the eleventh of April*, the shops were all shut, and the whole City gathered into the Forum; where the avenues were possessed by Pompey's soldiers, and he himself seated in a conspicuous part, to overlook the whole proceeding,

A. Urb. 701.
Cic. 55.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS III.
Sine Collega.

[e] Vid. Asconii argum. in Milon. licere vobis, quod sentiat, libere judicare. Pro Mil. 26.

[f] Ut intelligatis contra hesternam illam concionem Vid. Ascon. ibid.

A. Urb. 701. and hinder all disturbance. The accusers were,
 Cic. 55. *Young Appius, the Nephew of Clodius, M. Anto-*
 Cn. POMPEI- *nus, and P. Valerius, who, according to the*
 US MAG- *new law, employed two hours, in supporting*
 NUS III. *their indictment. Cicero was the onely advocate*
 Sine Collega. *on Milo's side; but as soon as he rose up to speak*
he was received with so rude a clamor by the Clo-
dians, that he was much discomposed and daunted at
his first setting out; yet recovered spirit enough to
go through his speech of three hours; which was
taken down in writing, and published as it was de-
livered; though the copy of it now extant is sup-
posed to have been retouched and corrected by
him afterwards, for a present to Milo in his
exil [g].

IN the counsil of Milo's friends, several were
 of opinion, that he should defend himself, *by*
avowing the death of Clodius to be an act of public
benefit: But Cicero thought that defence too de-
sperate; as it would disgust the grave, by open-
ing so great a door to licence; and offend the
powerfull, lest the precedent should be extend-
ed to themselves. But Young Brutus was not so
cautious; who, in an oration, which he compo-
sed and published afterwards in vindication of
Milo, maintained the killing of Clodius to be right
and just, and of great service to the Republic [h].
 It was notorious, that on both sides, they had
 often *threatened death to each other: Clodius es-*
pecially had declared several times both to the

[g] Cicero, cum inciperet
 dicere, acceptus est acclama-
 tione Clodianorum — itaque
 non ea, qua solitus erat, con-
 stantia dixit. Manet autem
 illa quoque excepta ejus Ora-
 tio — Afcon. Argum. —

[h] Cum quibusdam pla-

cuisse, ita defendi crimen,
 interfici Clodium pro Repub.
 fuisse, quam formam M. Bru-
 tus secutus est in ea oratione,
 quam pro Milone composuit,
 & edidit, quamvis non egisset,
 Ciceroni id non placuit —
 ibid.

Senate

Senate and the people, *that Milo ought to be killed; and that, if the Consulship could not be taken from him, his life could: and when Favonius asked him once, what hopes he could have of playing his mad pranks, while Milo was living; he replied, that in three or four days at most, he should live no more: which was spoken just three days before the fatal rencounter, and attested by Favonius [i].* Since Milo then was charged with being the contriver of their meeting, and the aggressor in it, and several testimonies were produced to that purpose, Cicero chose to risk the cause on that issue; in hopes to persuade, what seemed to be the most probable, *that Clodius actually lay in wait for Milo, and contrived the time and place; and that Milo's part was but a necessary act of self defence.* This appeared plausible, from the nature of their equipage, and the circumstances in which they met: for though Milo's company was the more numerous, yet it was much more encumbered, and unfit for engagement, than his adversary's; *he himself being in a chariot with his wife, and all her women along with him; while Clodius with his followers were on horseback; as if prepared and equipped for fighting [k].* He did not preclude himself

A. Urb. 701.
Cic. 55.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS III.
Sine Collega.

[i] Etenim palam dictabat, consulatum Miloni eripi non posse, vitam posse. Significavit hoc sæpe in Senatu; dixit in concione. Quinetiam Favonio, quærenti ex eo, qua spe fureret, Milone vivo? Respondit, triduo illum, ad summum quatruiduo periturum. Pro Mil. 9.

Post diem tertium gesta res est, quam dixerat. Ib. 16.

[k] Interim cum sciret Clodius—Iter solenne—necessarium—Miloni esse Lanuvium—Roma ipse profectus pridie est, ut ante suum fundum, quod re intellectum est, insidias Miloni collocaret—Milo autem cum in Senatu fuisset eo die, quoad Senatus dimissus est, domum venit, calceos & vestimenta mutavit: paullisper, dum se uxor,

A. Urb. 701. himself however by this from the other plea,
 Cic. 55. which he often takes occasion to insinuate, *that*
 Cn. Pompei- *if Milo had really designed and contrived to kill Clo-*
 us Mag- *dus, he would have deserved honors instead of pu-*
 nus III. *nishment, for cutting off so desperate and dangerous*
 Sine Collega. *an enemy to the peace and liberty of Rome* [1].

IN this speech for Milo, after he had shewn the folly of paying such a regard to the idle rumors and forgeries of his enemies, as to give them the credit of an examination, he touches Pompey's conduct and *pretended fears*, with a fine and masterly raillery; and from a kind of prophetic foresight of what might one day happen, addresses himself to him in a very pathetic manner.—“ I could not but applaud, *says he*, “ the wonderfull diligence of Pompey in these “ inquiries: but to tell you freely, what I think; “ those who are charged with the care of the “ whole Republic, are forced to hear many “ things, which they would condemn, if they “ were at liberty to do it. He could not refuse “ an audience to that paultry fellow, Licinius, “ who gave the information about Milo's ser- “ vants—— I was sent for among the first of

uxor, ut fit, comparat, com-
 moratus est — obviam fit ei
 Clodius expeditus in equo,
 nulla rheda, nullis impedi-
 mentis, nullis Græcis Comi-
 tibus, sine uxore, quod nun-
 quam fere; cum hic Insidia-
 tor, — (Milo) — cum uxore in
 rheda veheretur penulatus,
 magno impedimento, ac mu-
 liebri & delicato ancillarum &
 puerorum comitatu — Pro
 Mil. 10. it. 21.

[1] Quamobrem si cruen-

tum gladium tenens clama-
 ret T. Annius, adeste, quæso,
 atque audite cives: P. Clo-
 dius interfeci: ejus furores,
 quos nullis jam legibus, nullis
 judiciis frænare poteramus,
 hoc ferro, atque hac dextra
 a cervicibus vestris repuli,
 &c. — Vos tanti sceleris ul-
 torem non modo honoribus
 nullis afficietis, sed etiam ad
 supplicium rapi patiemini? —
 Pro Mil. 28 — &c.

“ those

“ those friends, by whose advice he laid it be- A. Urb. 701.
 “ fore the Senate ; and was, I own, in no small Cic. 55.
 “ consternation, to see the Guardian both of me Cn. POMPEI-
 “ and my Country under so great an apprehen- US MAG-
 “ sion ; yet I could not help wondering, that NUS III.
 “ such credit was given to a Butcher ; such re- Sine Collega.
 “ gard to drunken slaves ; and how the wound
 “ in the man’s side, which seemed to be the
 “ prick onely of a needle, could be taken for
 “ the stroke of a Gladiator. But Pompey was
 “ shewing his caution, rather than his fear : and
 “ disposed to be suspicious of every thing, that
 “ you might have reason to fear nothing. There
 “ was a rumor also, that Cæsar’s house was at-
 “ tacked for several hours in the night : the
 “ neighbours, though in so public a place, heard
 “ nothing at all of it ; yet the affair was thought
 “ fit to be enquired into. I can never suspect
 “ a man of Pompey’s eminent courage, of be-
 “ ing timorous ; nor yet think any caution too
 “ great in one who has taken upon himself the
 “ defence of the whole Republic. A Senator
 “ likewise, in full house, affirmed lately in the
 “ Capitol, that Milo had a dagger under his
 “ gown at that very time : Milo stript himself
 “ presently in that most sacred Temple ; that,
 “ since his life and manners would not give him
 “ credit, the thing itself might speak for him,
 “ which was found to be false, and basely forged.
 “ But if, after all, Milo must still be feared ; it
 “ is no longer the affair of Clodius, but your
 “ suspicions, Pompey, which we dread : your,
 “ your suspicions, I say, and speak it so, that
 “ you may hear me. — If those suspicions stick
 “ so close, that they are never to be removed ;
 “ if *Italy* must never be free from new levies,
 “ nor the City from arms, without Milo’s de-
 “ struction ;

A. Urb. 701. "struction; he would not scruple, such is his
 Cic. 55. "nature and his principles, to bid adieu to his
 CN. POMPEI- "Country, and submit to a voluntary exile: but
 US MAG- "at taking leave, he would call upon Thee,
 NUS III. "O Thou Great One! as he now does, to con-
 Sine Collega. "sider how uncertain and variable the condition
 "of life is: how unsettled and inconstant a
 "thing fortune; what unfaithfulness there is
 "in friends; what dissimulation suited to times
 "and circumstances; what desertion, what
 "cowardice in our dangers, even of those, who
 "are dearest to us: there will, there will, I
 "say, be a time, and the day will certainly
 "come, when you, with safety still, I hope,
 "to your fortunes, though changed perhaps by
 "some turn of the common times, which, as
 "experience shews, will often happen to us all,
 "may want the affection of the friendliest, the
 "fidelity of the worthiest, the courage of the
 "bravest man living, &c. [*m*]"

Of one and fifty Judges, who sat upon Milo, thirteen only acquitted, and thirty-eight condemned him; the votes were usually given by ballot; but Cato, who absolved him, chose to give his vote openly; and "if he had done it earlier, says *Velleius*, would have drawn others after him; since all were convinced, that he, who was killed, was, of all who had ever lived, the most pernicious enemy to his Country, and to all good men [*n*]." Milo went into exile at *Marseilles*, a few days after his condemnation: his debts were so great, that he

[*m*] Pro Mil. 24, 25, 26—

[*n*] M. Cato palam lata absolvit sententia, quam si maturius tulisset, non defuissent, qui sequerentur exem-

plum, probarentque eum civem occisum, quo nemo perniciosior Reip. neque bonis inimicior vixerat. — Vell. P. 2. 47.

was glad to retire the sooner from the importunity of his creditors; for whose satisfaction his whole estate was sold by public auction. Here Cicero still continued his care for him, and in concert with Milo's friends, ordered one of his wife's freedmen, Philotimus, to assist at the sale, and to purchase the greatest part of the effects, in order to dispose of them afterwards to the best advantage, for the benefit of *Milo and his wife Fausta, if any thing could be saved for them.* But his intended service was not so well relished by Milo, as he expected; for Philotimus was suspected of playing the knave, and secreting part of the effects to his own use; which gave Cicero great uneasiness; so that he pressed Atticus and Cælius to inquire into the matter very narrowly, and oblige Philotimus "to give satisfaction to Milo's friends; and to see especially, that his own reputation did not suffer by the management of his servant [o]." Through this whole struggle about Milo, Pompey treated Cicero with great humanity: he assigned him a "guard at the trial; forgave all his labors for his friend, though in opposition

A. Urb. 701.
Cic. 55.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS III.
Sine Collega.

[o] Consilium meum hoc fuerat, primum ut in potestate nostra res esset, ne illum malus emptor & alienus mancipiis, quæ permulta secum habet, spoliaret: deinde ut Faustæ, cui cautum ille voluisset, ratum esset. Erat etiam illud, ut ipsi nos, si quid servari posset, quam facillime servaremus. Nunc rem totam perspicias velim— Si ille queritur — Si idem Fausta vult, Philotimus, ut

ego ei coram dixeram, mihi- que ille receperat, ne sit invito Milone in bonis— Ad Att. 5. 8. it. 6. 4.

Quod ad Philotimi liberti officium & bona Milonis attinet, dedimus operam ut & Philotimus quam honestissime Miloni absenti, ejusque necessariis satis faceret, & secundum ejus fidem & sedulitatem existimatio tua conservaretur.—Ep. Fam. 8. 3.

“to himself; and so far from resenting what he
“did, would not suffer other people’s resent-
“ments to hurt him [p].”

THE next trial before the same Tribunal, and for the same crime, was of M. Saufeius, one of Milo’s confidants, charged with being the ring-leader *in storming the house, and killing Clodius*: he was defended also by Cicero, and acquitted onely *by one vote*: but being accused a second time on the same account, though for a different fact, and again defended by Cicero, *he was acquitted by a great majority*. But Sex. Clodius, the Captain of the other side, had not the luck to escape so well; but was condemned and banished, with several others of that faction, to the great joy of the City, *for burning the Senate-house, and the other violences committed upon Clodius’s death* [q].

A. Urb. 701. POMPEY no sooner published his *new law*
Cic. 55. *against bribery*, than the late Consular Candidates,
Coff. Scipio and Hypsæus, *were severally impeached up-*
CN. POMPEI- *on it*; and being both of them notoriously guilt-
US MAG- *ty*, were in great danger of being condemned:
NUS III. but Pompey, calling the body of the Judges to-
Q. CÆCILIVS *gether*, begged it of them as a favor, *that out*
METELLUS *of the great number of state Criminals, they would*
SCIPIO. *remit Scipio to him*: whom, after he had rescued from this prosecution, he declared *his Colleague in the Consulship, for the last five months of the year*; having first made him *his Father-in-law* by marrying his daughter, Cornelia. The other Can-

[p] Qua humanitate tulit
contentionem meam pro Mi-
lone, adversante interdum
actionibus suis? Quo studio
providit, ne quæ me illius
temporis invidia attingeret?

Cum me consilio, tum aucto-
ritate, cum armis denique
texit suis—Ib. 3. 10.

[q] Ascon. Argum. pro
Milon.—

didate,

didate, Hypsæus, was left to the mercy of the law; and being likely to fare the worse for Scipio's escape, and to be made a sacrifice to the popular odium, he watched an opportunity of access to Pompey, as he was coming out of his bath, and throwing himself at his feet, implored his protection: but though he had been his *Quæstor*, and ever obsequious to his will, yet Pompey is said to have thrust him away with great haughtiness and inhumanity, telling him coldly, that he would onely spoil his supper by detaining him [r].

A. Urb. 701.
Cic. 55.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS III.
Q. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS
SCIPIO.

BEFORE the end of the year, Cicero had some amends for the loss of his friend Milo, by the condemnation and banishment of *Two of the Tribuns*, the common enemies of them both, Q. Pompeius Rufus, and T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, for the violences of their *Tribunate*, and burning the *Senate-house*. As soon as their office expired, Cælius accused the first; and Cicero himself the second; the onely cause, excepting that of Verres, in which he ever acted the part of an *Accuser*. But Bursa had deserved it, both for his public behaviour in his office, and his personal injuries to Cicero; who had defended and preserved him in a former trial. He depended on Pompey's saving him; and had no apprehension of danger, since Pompey under-

[r] Cn. autem Pompeius quam insolenter? Qui balneo egressus, ante pedes suos prostratum Hypsæum ambitus reum & nobilem virum & sibi amicum, jacentem reliquit, contumeliosa voce proculcatum. Nihil enim eum aliud agere, quam ut convivium suum moraretur, respondit— Ille vero P. Scipionem, Socerum suum, legibus noxium, quas ipse tulerat, in maxima quidem reorum & illustrium ruina, muneris loco a Judicibus deponere—Val. Max. 9. 5. it. Plutar. in Pomp.

A. Urb. 701. took to plead his cause, before Judges of his
 Cic. 55. own appointing; yet by Cicero's vigor in ma-
 Coff. naging the prosecution, he was condemned by an
 Cn. POMPEI- unanimous vote of the whole bench [s]. Cicero
 US MAG- was highly pleased with this success, as he signi-
 NUS III. fies in a Letter to his friend Marius, which will
 Q. CÆCILIUS explain the motives of his conduct in it.
 METELLUS
 SCIPIO.

“ I know very well, *says he*, that you rejoice
 “ at Burfa's fate, but you congratulate me too
 “ coldly : you imagine, you tell me, that for
 “ the fordidness of the man, I take the less
 “ pleasure in it : but believe me, I have more
 “ joy from this sentence than from the death
 “ of my enemy : for, in the first place, I love
 “ to pursue, rather by a trial, than the sword ;
 “ rather with the glory, than the ruin of a
 “ friend ; and it pleased me extremely, to see
 “ so great an inclination of all honest men on
 “ my side, against the incredible pains of one,
 “ the most eminent and powerful : and lastly,
 “ what you will scarce think possible, I hated
 “ this fellow worse than Clodius himself : for I
 “ had attacked the one, but defended the other :
 “ and Clodius, when the safety of the Republic
 “ was risked upon my head, had something
 “ great in view, not indeed from his own
 “ strength, but the help of those, who could
 “ not maintain their ground, whilst I stood firm :
 “ but this silly Ape, out of a gayety of heart,
 “ chose me particularly for the object of his in-
 “ vectives ; and persuaded those, who envied
 “ me, that he would be always at their service,
 “ to insult me at any warning. Wherefore I
 “ charge you to rejoice in good earnest ; for it

[s] Plancum, qui omnibus fu condemnatus—
 sententiis maximo vestro plau- Philip. 6. 4.

“ is a great victory, which we have won. No
 “ Citizens were ever stouter than those who
 “ condemned him, against so great a power of
 “ one, by whom themselves were chosen Judges:
 “ which they would never have done, if they
 “ had not made my cause and grief their own.
 “ We are so distracted here by a multitude of
 “ trials and new laws, that our daily prayer is
 “ against all Intercalations, that we may see you
 “ as soon as possible [t].”

A. Urb. 701.
 Cic. 55.
 Coss.
 CN. POMPEI-
 US MAG-
 NUS III.
 Q. CÆCILIUS
 METELLUS
 SCIPIO.

Soon after the death of Clodius, Cicero seems to have written *his Treatise on laws* [u]; after the example of Plato, whom of all writers he most loved to imitate: for as Plato, after he had written on government in general, *drew up a body of laws, adapted to that particular form of it, which he had been delineating*; so Cicero chose to deliver his political sentiments in the same method [x]; not by translating Plato, but imitating his manner in the explication of them. This work being designed then, as a supplement, or second volume, to his other upon *the Republic*, was distributed probably, as that other was, into *six books*: for we meet with some quotations among the ancients, from *the fourth and fifth*; though there are but *three* now remaining, and those in some places imperfect. In the first of these, he lays open *the origin of law, and the source of obligation*; which he derives from *the universal nature of things*, or, as he explains it, from *the consummate reason or will of the supreme*

[t] Ep. Fam. 7. 2.

[u] Vid. de Legib. 2. 17.

[x] Sed ut vir. doctissimus fecit Plato, atque idem gravissimus Philosophorum om-

nium, qui princeps de Repub. conscripsit, idemque separatim de legibus ejus, id mihi credo esse faciendum— De Legib. 2. 6.

A. Urb. 701.
Cic. 55.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS III.
Q. CÆCILII
METELLUS
SCIPIO.

God [y]: in the other two books, he gives a body of laws conformable to his own plan and idea of a well ordered City [z]: first, those which relate to religion and the worship of the Gods; secondly, those which prescribe the duties and powers of the several Magistrates, from which the peculiar form of each government is denominated. These laws are generally taken from the old constitution or custom of Rome [a]; with some little variation and temperament, contrived to obviate the disorders, to which that Republic was liable, and to give it a stronger turn towards the Aristocratical side [b]: in the other books which are lost, he had treated, as he tells us, of the particular rights and privileges of the Roman people [c].

POMPEY was preparing an *Inscription* this summer for the front of the New Temple, which he had lately built to *Venus the Conqueress*, containing as usual, the recital of all his Titles: but in drawing it up, a question happened to be started, about the manner of expressing his third

[y] Hanc igitur video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret, imperandi prohibendique sapientia. Ita principem legem illam & ultimam mentem esse dicebant, omnia ratione aut cogentis aut vetantis Dei — Quamobrem lex vera atque princeps — ratio est recta summi Jovis. Ib. 2. 4.

[z] Non autem quoniam

—quæ de optima Repub. sentiremus, in sex libris ante diximus, accommodabimus hoc tempore leges ad illum, quem probamus, civitatis statum——Ib. 3. 2.

[a] Et si quæ forte a me hodie rogabuntur, quæ non sint in nostra Repub. nec fuerint, tamen erunt fere in more majorum, qui tum, ut lex, valebat. Ib. 2. 10.

[b] Nihil habui; sane non multum, quod putarem novandum in legibus. Ib. 3. 5.

[c] Ib. 3. 20.

Consulship;

Consulship; whether it should be by *Consul Tertium* or *Tertio*. This was referred to the principal Critics of Rome, who could not, it seems, agree about it; some of them contending for the one, some for the other; so that Pompey left it to Cicero, to decide the matter, and to inscribe what he thought the best. But Cicero being unwilling to give judgement on either side, when there were great authorities on both, and Varro among them, advised Pompey to abbreviate the word in question, and order TERT. only to be inscribed; which fully declared the thing, without determining the dispute. From this fact we may observe, how nicely exact they were in this age, in preserving a propriety of language in their public monuments and inscriptions [d].

AMONG the other acts of Pompey, in this third *Consulship*, there was a new law against bribery, contrived to strengthen the old ones, that were already subsisting against it, “by disqualifying all future Consuls and Prætors, from holding any province, till five years after the expiration of their Magistracies:” for this was thought likely to give some check to the eagerness of suing and bribing for those great offices, when the chief fruit and benefit of them was removed to such a distance [e]. But before the law passed, Pompey took care to provide an exception for himself, “and to get the government of Spain continued to him for five years longer; with an appointment of money for the payment of his troops:” and lest this should give offence to Cæsar, if something also

A. Urb. 701.
Cic. 55.
Coff.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS III.
Q. CÆCILIVS
METELLVS
SCIPIO.

[d] This story is told by Letter preserved by A. Gel-
Tiro, a favorite slave and lius. l. 10. 1.
freedman of Cicero, in a [e] Dio. p. 142.

A. Urb. 701. of an extraordinary kind was not provided for
 Cic. 55. him; he proposed a law, *to dispense with Cæsar's*
 Coll. *absence in suing for the Consulship*; of which Cæ-
 CN. POMPEI- far at that time seemed very desirous. Cælius
 US MAG- was the promoter of this law, engaged to it by
 NUS III. Cicero, *at the joint request of Pompey and Cæ-*
 Q. CÆCILIVS sar [f]; and it was carried with the concurrence
 METELLUS of all the Tribuns, though not without difficulty
 SCIPIO. and obstruction from the Senate: but *this unu-*
sual favor, instead of satisfying Cæsar, served one-
ly, as Suetonius says, to raise his hopes and de-
mands still higher [g].

By Pompey's law, just mentioned, it was pro-
 vided, that for a supply of Governors for the
 interval "of five years, *in which* the Consuls
 "and Prætors were disqualified, the Senators of
 "Consular and Prætorian rank, who had never
 "held any foreign command, should divide the
 "vacant Provinces among themselves by lot:"
 in consequence of which, Cicero, who was ob-
 liged to take his chance with the rest, obtained
the Government of Cilicia, now in the hands of
 Appius, the late Consul: this Province included
 also *Pisidia, Pamphilia, and three Dioceses*, as
 they were called, *or Districts of Asia, together*
with the Island of Cyprus; for the guard of all
 which, "a standing army was kept up of two
 "Legions, or about twelve thousand foot; with
 "two thousand six hundred horse [b]:" and

[f] Rogatus ab ipso Ra-
 vennæ de Cælio Tribuno
 pleb. ab ipso autem? Etiam
 a Cnæo nostro. — Ad Att. 7.
 1.

[g] Egit cum Tribunis
 pleb. — ut absenti sibi —
 petitio secundi Consulatus da-

retur — Quod ut adeptus est,
 altiora jam meditans & spei
 plenus, nullum largitionis,
 aut officiorum in quemquam
 gentis publice privatimque
 omisit. Suet. J. Cæs. 26.

[b] Ad Att. 5. 15.

thus

thus one of those *Provincial Governments*, which were withheld from others by law, to correct their inordinate passion for them, *was, contrary to his will and expectation, obtruded at last upon Cicero*; whose business it had been through life to avoid them [i].

A. Urb. 701.
Cic. 55.
Coff.
CN. POMPEI-
US MAG-
NUS III.
Q. CÆCILIVS
METELLVS
SCIPIO.

THE City began now to feel the unhappy effects, both of *Julia's and Crassus's death*, from the mutual apprehensions and jealousies, which discovered themselves more and more every day between Pompey and Cæsar: the Senate was generally in Pompey's interest; and trusting to the name and authority of so great a Leader, were determined to humble the pride and ambition of Cæsar, by recalling him from his Government; whilst Cæsar, on the other hand, trusting to the strength of his troops, resolved to keep possession of it in defiance of all their votes; and by drawing a part of his forces into *the Italic or Cisalpine Gaul*, so as to be ready at any warning to support his pretensions, began to alarm all *Italy* with the melancholy prospect of an approaching *civil war*: and this was the situation of affairs, when Cicero set forward towards his Government of Cilicia.

[i] Cum & contra voluntatem meam & præter opinionem accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in Provinciam proficisci necesse esset. Ep. Fam. 3. 2.

S E C T. VII.

A. Urb. 702. **T**HIS year opens to us a new scene in Cicero's life, and presents him in a character, which he had never before sustained, *of the Governor of a Province, and General of an army*. These preferments were, of all others, the most ardently desired by the great, for the advantages which they afforded both of acquiring power, and amassing wealth : for their command, though accountable to the Roman people, was absolute and uncontrollable in the Province ; where they kept up the state and pride of sovereign Princes, and had all the neighbouring Kings paying a court to them, and attending their orders. If their genius was turned to arms, and fond of martial glory, they could never want a pretext for war, since it was easy to drive the subjects into rebellion, or the adjoining nations to acts of hostility by their oppressions and injuries, till from the destruction of a number of innocent people, they had acquired *the Title of Emperor*, and with it the pretension to a triumph ; without which scarce any Proconsul was ever known to return from a remote and frontier Province [a]. Their opportunities

[a] While the ancient discipline of the Republic subsisted, no general could pretend to a triumph, who had not enlarged the bounds of the Empire by his conquests, and killed at least five thousand enemies in battle, without any considerable loss of his own soldiers. This was expressly enacted by an old law : in support of which a second was afterwards provided, that made it penal for any of their triumphant Commanders to give a false account of the number of slain, either on the enemy's side, or their

opportunities of raising money were as immense as their power, and bounded only by their own appetites: the appointments from the treasury, for their equipage, plate, and necessary furniture, amounted, as appears from some instances, to near *a hundred and fifty thousand pounds* [b]: and, besides the revenues of kingdoms, and pay of armies, of which they had the arbitrary management, they could exact what contributions they pleased, not onely from the Cities of their own jurisdiction, but from all the states and Princes around them, who were under the protection of Rome. But while their primary care was to enrich themselves, they carried out with them always a band of hungry friends and dependents, as *their Lieutenants, Tribuns, Præfects*, with a crew of freedmen and favorite slaves, who were all likewise to be enriched by the spoils of the Province, and the sale of their master's favors. Hence flowed all those accusations and trials for the plunder of the subjects, of which we read so much in the Roman writers: for as few or none of the Proconsuls behaved themselves with that exact justice, as to leave no room for complaint, so the factions of the City, and the quarrels of families, sub-

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

their own; and obliged them, upon their entrance into the City, to take an oath before the Quæstors or public Treasurers, that the accounts, which they had sent to the Senate, of each number, were true. [Val. Max. 2. 8.] But these laws had long been neglected and treated as obsolete; and the honor of a Triumph usually granted, by intrigue and faction, to every

General of any credit, who had gained some little advantage against Pirates or fugitives, or repelled the incursions of the wild barbarians, who bordered upon the distant provinces.

[b] Nonne H. S. centies & octagies—quasi vasarii nomine—ex ærario tibi attributum, Romæ in quæstu reliquisti? in Pison. 35.

A. Urb. 702. ing from former impeachments, generally excited
 Cic. 56. some or other to revenge the affront in kind, by
 Coss. undertaking the cause of an injured Province,
 SERV. SULPI- and dressing up an impeachment against their
 CIUS RUFUS, enemy.
 M. CLAU-

DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS.

BUT whatever benefit or glory this Govern-
 ment seemed to offer, it had no charms for Cice-
 ro: the thing itself *was disagreeable to his tem-*
per [c], nor worthy of those talents, which were
 formed to sit at the helm, and shine in the admi-
 nistration of the whole Republic: so that he con-
 sidered it onely as an honourable exil, or a bur-
 then imposed by his country, to which his duty
 obliged him to submit. His first care therefore
 was to provide, that this command might not be
 prolonged to him beyond the usual term of a
 year; which was frequently done, when the ne-
 cessities of the Province, the character of the
 man, the intrigues of parties, or the hurry of
 other business at home, left the Senate neither lei-
 sure nor inclination to think of changing the Go-
 vernor: and this was the more likely to happen
 at present, through the scarcity of magistrates,
 who were now left capable by the late law of suc-
 ceeding him. Before his departure therefore he
 solicited all his friends, not to suffer such a mor-
 tification to fall upon him; and after he was gone,
 scarce wrote a single letter to *Rome*, without
 urging the same request in the most pressing terms:
 in his first to Atticus, within three days from
 their parting; *do not imagine* says he, *that I*

[c] Totum negotium non
 est dignum viribus nostris, qui
 majore onera in Rep. sustinere
 & possim & soleam. Ep. fam.
 2. xi.

○ rem minime aptam meis

moribus, &c. ad Att. 5. 10.

Sed est incredibile, quam
 me negotii tædeat, non habet
 satis magnum campum ille
 tibi non ignotus cursus animi
 mei.— ib. 15.

have

have any other consolation in this great trouble, than the hopes that it will not be continued beyond the year : many, who judge of me by others, do not take me to be in earnest, but you, who know me, will use all your diligence, especially, when the affair is to come on [d].

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

HE left the City about the first of May, attended by his Brother and their two Sons : for Quintus had quitted his commission under Cæsar, in order to accompany him into *Cilicia*, in the same capacity of his *Lieutenant*. Atticus had desired him, before he left Italy, to admonish his Brother, to shew more complaisance and affection to his wife Pomponia, who had been complaining to him of her husband's peevishness and churlish carriage ; and lest Cicero should forget it, he put him in mind again, by a letter to him on the road, that since all the family were to be together in the Country, on this occasion of his going abroad, he would persuade Quintus to leave his wife at least in good humor at their parting : in relation to which, Cicero sends him the following account of what passed.

“ When I arrived at Arpinum, and my Brother was come to me, our first and chief discourse was on you ; which gave me an opportunity of falling upon the affair of your Sister, which you and I had talked over together at *Tusculum* : I never saw any thing so mild and moderate as my Brother was, without giving the least hint of his ever having had any real

[d] Noli putare mihi aliam consolationem esse hujus ingentis molestiæ, nisi quod spero non longiorem annua fore. Hoc me ita velle multi non credunt ex consuetudine aliorum. Tu, qui scis, omnem diligentiam adhibebis ; tum scilicet, cum id agi debebit. Ib. 2.

“ cause

- A. Urb. 702. " cause of offence from her. The next morn-
 Cic. 56. " ing we left Arpinum; and that day being a
 Coss. " festival, Quintus was obliged to spend it at Ar-
 SERV. SULPI- " canum, where I dined with him, but went on
 CIUS RUFUS, " afterwards to Aquinum: You know this Villa
 M. CLAU- " of his: as soon as we came thither, Quintus
 DIUS MAR- " said to his wife, in the civillest terms; do you,
 CELLUS. " Pomponia, invite the women, and I will send
 " to the men: (nothing, as far as I saw, could
 " be said more obligingly, either in his words or
 " manner:) to which she replied, so as we all
 " might hear it, *I am but a stranger here myself:*
 " referring, I guess, to my Brother's having sent
 " Statius before us to order the dinner: upon
 " which, see, says my Brother to me, what I am
 " forced to bear every day. This, you will say,
 " was no great matter. Yes, truly, great
 " enough to give me much concern; to see
 " her reply so absurdly and fiercely both in her
 " words and looks: but I dissembled my unea-
 " siness. When we sat down to dinner, she
 " would not sit down with us: and when Quin-
 " tus sent her several things from the table, she
 " sent them all back: in short, nothing could be
 " milder than my Brother, or ruder than your
 " Sister; yet I omit many particulars, which gave
 " more trouble to me than to Quintus himself.
 " I went away to Aquinum; he staid at Arcanum:
 " but when he came to me early the next morn-
 " ing, he told me, that she refused to lye with
 " him that night; and at their parting continued
 " in the same humor, in which I had seen her.
 " In a word, you may let her know from me,
 " that, in my opinion, the fault was all on her
 " side that day. I have been longer perhaps,
 " than was necessary, in my narrative, to let you
 " see,

“ see, that there is occasion also on your part for A. Urb. 702.
“ advice and admonition [e].” Cic. 56.

Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

ONE cannot help observing from this little incident, what is confirmed by innumerable instances in the Roman story, that *the freedom of a divorce*, which was indulged without restraint at Rome, to the caprice of either party, gave no advantage of comfort to the matrimonial state; but on the contrary, seems to have encouraged rather a mutual perverseness and obstinacy; since upon any little disgust, or obstruction given to their follies, the expedient of a change was ready always to flatter them, with the hopes of better success in another trial: for there never was an age or Country, where there was so profligate a contempt and violation of the nuptial bond, or so much lewdness and infidelity in the Great of both sexes, as at this time in Rome.

CICERO spent a few days as he passed forward, at his *Cuman Villa*, near Baiæ, where there was such a resort of Company to him, *that he had*, he says, *a kind of a little Rome about him*: Hortensius came among the rest, though much out of health, to pay his compliments, and wish him a good voyage, and, at taking leave, when he asked, *what commands he had for him in his absence*, Cicero begged of him onely, to use all his authority, *to hinder his Government from being prolonged to him* [f]. In sixteen days from Rome, he arrived at Tarentum, where he had

[e] Ad Att. 5. 1.

[f] In Cumano cum essem, venit ad me, quod mihi pergratum fuit, noster Hortensius: cui, deposcenti mea mandata, cætera universè mandavi; illud proprie,

ne pateretur, quantum esset in ipso, prorogari nobis provinciam.— habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam: tanta erat in his locis multitudo.—ib. 2.

promised

A. Urb. 702. promised to make a visit to Pompey, who was
 Cic. 56. taking the benefit of that soft air, for the re-
 Coff. covery of his health, at one of his Villa's in those
 SERV. SULPI- parts; and had invited and pressed Cicero to
 CIUS RUFUS, spend some days with him upon his journey:
 M. CLAU- they proposed great satisfaction on both sides
 DIUS MAR- from this interview, for the opportunity of con-
 CELLUS. ferring together with all freedom, on the present
 state of the Republic, which was to be their sub-
 ject: though Cicero expected also to get some les-
 sons of the military kind, from this renowned
 Commander. He promised Atticus an account
 of this Conference; but the particulars being too
 delicate to be communicated by Letters, he ac-
 quainted him onely in general, *that he found Pom-
 pey an excellent Citizen, and provided for all events,
 which could possibly be apprehended* [g].

AFTER three days stay with Pompey, he pro-
 ceeded to Brundisium; where he was detained for
twelve days by a slight indisposition, and the expec-
 tation of his principal officers, particularly of his
Lieutenant Pontinius, an experienced Leader, the
 same who had triumphed over *the Allobroges*; and
 on whose skill he chiefly depended in his martial
 affairs. From Brundisium, he sailed to Actium,
on the fifteenth of June; whence partly by sea,

[g] Nos Tarenti, quos cum
 Pompeio διαλογος de Repub.
 habuerimus ad te perscribe-
 mus—ib. 5.

Tarentum veni a. d. xv
 Kal. Jun. quod Pontinium
 statueram expectare, commo-
 dissimum duxi dies eos cum
 Pompeio consumere: eoque
 magis, quod ei gratum esse
 id videbam, qui etiam a me
 petierit, ut secum & apud se
 essem quotidie: quod con-

cessi libenter multos enim e-
 jus præclaros de Repub. ser-
 mones accipiam: intruar e-
 tiam consiliis idoneis ad hoc
 nostrum negotium.—ib. 6.

Ego, cum triduum cum
 Pompeio & apud Pompeium
 fuisset, proficiscebam Brun-
 disium.—Civem illum egre-
 gium relinquebam, & ad hæc,
 quæ timentur, propulsanda
 paratissimum.—ib. 7.

and partly by land, he arrived at *Athens on the twenty-sixth* [b]. Here he lodged in the house of Aristus, the principal professor of *the Academy*; and his Brother not far from him, with Xeno, another celebrated Philosopher of Epicurus's School: they spent their time here very agreeably; at home, in Philosophical disquisitions; abroad, in viewing the buildings and antiquities of the place, with which Cicero was much delighted: there were several other men of learning, both Greeks and Romans, of the party; especially Gallus Caninius and Patro, an eminent Epicurean, and intimate friend of Atticus [i].

THERE lived at this time in exil at Athens, C. Memmius, banished upon a conviction of bribery, in his suit for the consulship; who, the day before Cicero's arrival, happened to go away to Mitylene. The figure, which he had born in Rome, gave him authority in Athens; and *the council of Areopagus* had granted him a piece of ground to build upon, where *Epicurus* formerly lived, and where there still remained the old ruins of his walls. But this grant had given great offence to the whole body of *the Epicureans*, to see the remains of their master in danger of being destroyed. They had written to Cicero at Rome, to beg him to intercede with Memmius, to consent to a revocation of it; and now at Athens, Xeno and Patro renewed their instances, and prevailed with him to write about it, in the most effectual manner; for though Memmius had

[b] Ad Att. 5. 8. 9.

[i] Valde me Athenæ delectarunt: urbs duntaxat, & urbis ornamentum, & hominum amores in te, & in nos quædam benevolentia; sed

multum & Philosophia — si quid est, est in Aristo apud quem eram, nam Xenonem tantum — Quinto concesseram — ad Att. 5. x. Ep. fam. 2. 8. 13. 1.

A. Urb. 702. laid aside his design of building, *the Areopagites*
 Cic. 56. *would not recall their decree without his leave* [k].
 Coss. Cicero's letter is drawn with much art and accu-
 SERV. SULPI- racy : he laughs at the trifling zeal of these Phi-
 CIUS RUFUS, losophers, *for the old rubbish and poultry ruins of*
 M. CLAU- *their Founder, yet earnestly presses Memmius, to in-*
 DIUS MAR- *dulge them in a prejudice, contracted through weak-*
 CELLUS. *ness, not wickedness*; and though he professes an
 utter dislike of their Philosophy, yet he recom-
 mends them, *as honest, agreeable, friendly men,*
 for whom he entertained the highest esteem [l].
 From this letter one may observe, that the greatest
 difference in Philosophy made no difference of
 friendship among the great of these times.
 There was not a more declared enemy to *Epi-*
curus's doctrine, than Cicero : he thought it de-
 structive of morality, and pernicious to Society;
 but he charged this consequence to the principles,
 not the Professors of them ; with many of whom
 he held the strictest intimacy ; and found them
 to be worthy, virtuous, generous friends, and
 lovers of their Country : there is a jocular Letter
 to Trebatius, when he was with Cæsar in Gaul,
 upon his turning Epicurean, which will help to
 confirm this reflection.

CICERO to TREBATIUS.

“ I was wondering, why you had given over
 “ writing to me ; till Panfa informed me, that

[k] Visum est Xenoni, &
 post, ipsi Patroni, me ad
 Memmium scribere, qui pri-
 die quam ego Athenas veni,
 Mitylenas profectus erat, —
 non enim dubitabat Xeno,
 quin ab Areopagitis invito

Memmio impetrari non pos-
 set. Memmius autem ædifi-
 candi consilium abjecisset, sed
 erat Patroni iratus, itaque
 scripsi ad eum accurate— ad
 Att. 5. 11.

[l] Ep. fam. 13. 1.

“ you

“ you were turned Epicurean. O rare Camp! A. Urb. 702.
 “ what would you have done if I had sent you Cic. 56.
 “ to Tarentum, instead of Samerobriua? I began Coss.
 “ to think the worse of you, ever since you SERV. SULPI-
 “ made my friend Seius your pattern. But with CIUS RUFUS,
 “ what face will you now pretend to practise the M. CLAU-
 “ Law, when you are to do every thing for your DIUS MAR-
 “ own interest, and not for your Client’s? and CELLUS.
 “ what will become of that old form, and test of
 “ fidelity; *as true men ought to act truly, with*
 “ *one another?* what Law would you alledge for
 “ the distribution of common right, when no-
 “ thing can be common with those who mea-
 “ sure all things by their pleasure? with what
 “ face can you swear by Jupiter; when Jupiter,
 “ you know, can never be angry with any man?
 “ and what will become of your people of *Ulu-*
 “ *bræ*; since you do not allow a wise man to
 “ meddle with politics? wherefore if you are
 “ really gone off from us, I am sorry for it;
 “ but if it be convenient to pay this compliment
 “ to Panfa, I forgive you; on condition how-
 “ ever, that you write me word what you are
 “ doing, and what you would have me do for
 “ you here [m].” The change of principles in
 Trebatius, though equivalent in effect to a change
 of Religion with us, made no alteration in Ci-
 cero’s affection for him. This was the dictate of
 reason to the best and wisest of the Heathens;
 and may serve to expose the rashness of those
 zealots, who, with the light of a most divine and
 benevolent religion, are perpetually insulting and
 persecuting their fellow Christians, for differences
 of opinion, which, for the most part, are mere-
 ly speculative, and without any influence on life,
 or the good and happiness of civil Society.

[m] Ep. Fam. 7. 12.

AFTER

A. Urb. 702.

Cic. 56.

Coff.

SERV. SULPI-

CIUS RUFUS,

M. CLAU-

DIUS MAR-

CELLUS.

AFTER *ten days* spent at Athens, where Pontinius at last joined him, Cicero set sail towards Asia. Upon leaving Italy, he had charged his friend Cælius with the task of sending him the news of Rome; which Cælius performed very punctually, in a series of Letters, which make a valuable part in the collection of his *familiar Epistles*: they are polite and entertaining; full of wit and spirit; yet not flowing with that easy turn, and elegance of expression, which we always find in Cicero's. The first of them, with Cicero's answer, will give us a specimen of the rest.

M. CÆLIUS to M. CICERO.

“ ACCORDING to my promise at parting, to
 “ send you an account of all the news of the
 “ Town, I have provided one to collect it for
 “ you so punctually, that I am afraid, lest you
 “ should think my diligence at last too minute:
 “ but I know how curious you are; and how
 “ agreeable it is to all, who are abroad, to be
 “ informed of every thing that passes at home,
 “ though ever so trifling. I beg of you, however,
 “ not to condemn me of arrogance, for deputing
 “ another to this task: since, as busy as I now
 “ am, and as lazy, as you know me to be in
 “ writing, it would be the greatest pleasure to
 “ me, to be employed in any thing that revives
 “ the remembrance of you: but the packet it-
 “ self, which I have sent, will, I imagine, rea-
 “ dily excuse me: for what leisure would it re-
 “ quire, not only to transcribe, but to attend
 “ even to the contents of it? there are all the
 “ decrees of the Senate, Edicts, plays, rumors:
 “ if the sample does not please you, pray let me
 “ know it, that I may not give you trouble, at
 “ my

“ my cost. If any thing important happens in A. Urb. 702.
 “ the republic, above the reach of these hack- Cic. 56.
 “ ney writers, I will send you an account of it SERV. SULPI-
 “ myself; in what manner it was transacted; CIUS RUFUS,
 “ what speculations are raised upon it; what ef- M. CLAU-
 “ fects apprehended: at present there is no DIUS MAR-
 “ great expectation of any thing: as to those ru- CELLUS.
 “ mors, which were so warm at *Cumæ*, of af-
 “ fecting the Colonies beyond the *Po*, when I
 “ came to *Rome*, I heard not a syllable about
 “ them. Marcellus too, because he has not yet
 “ made any motion for a successor to the two
 “ *Gauls*, but puts it off, as he told me himself,
 “ to the first of *June*, has revived the same talk
 “ concerning him, which was stirring when we
 “ were at *Rome* together. If you saw Pompey,
 “ as you designed to do, pray send me word in
 “ what temper you found him; what conversa-
 “ tion he had with you; what inclination he
 “ shewed; for he is apt to think one thing, and
 “ say another, yet has not wit enough, to con-
 “ ceal what he really means. As for Cæsar,
 “ there are many ugly reports about him; but
 “ propagated onely in whispers: some say, that
 “ he has lost all his horse; which I take indeed
 “ to be true; others, that the seventh Legion
 “ has been beaten; and that he himself is be-
 “ sieged by the *Bellovaci*; and cut off from the
 “ rest of his army. There is nothing yet cer-
 “ tain; nor are these uncertain stories publicly
 “ talked of; but among the few, whom you
 “ know, told openly, by way of secrets: Do-
 “ mitius never mentions them, without clap-
 “ ping his hand to his mouth. On the twenty-
 “ first of *May*, the mob under the *Rostræ*, sent
 “ about a report, (may it fall on their own heads)
 “ which was warmly propagated through the
 “ Forum

A. Urb. 702. " Forum and the whole City, that you were
 Cic. 56. " killed upon the road by Q. Pompeius : but I,
 Coff. " who knew him to be then at *Bauli*, and in such
 SERV. SULPI- " a starving condition, that I could not help pi-
 CIUS RUFUS, " tying him, being forced to turn Pilot for his
 M. CLAU- " bread, was not concerned about it; and wished
 DIUS MAR- " onely, that if any real dangers threatened you,
 CELLUS. " we might be quit for this lie : your friend
 " Plancus Burfa is at Ravenna; where he has
 " had a large donative from Cæfar; but is not
 " yet eafy, nor well provided. Your books on
 " government are applauded by all people [*n*].

M. T. CICERO, Proconful, to M. CÆLIUS.

" How! was it this, think you, that I charged
 " you with; to fend me the matches of Gladiators;
 " the adjournments of caufes; and Chrestus's news-letter;
 " and what nobody dares mention to me when at Rome? See, how much I
 " afcribe to you in my judgement: nor indeed
 " without reason, for I have never yet met with
 " a better head for politics; I would not have
 " you write what paffes every day in public,
 " though ever fo important, unlefs it happen to
 " affect myfelf: others will write it; many bring
 " accounts of it; and fame itfelf conveys a great
 " part to me: I expect from you, neither the
 " paff, nor the prefent; but as from one, who
 " fees a great way before him, the future onely;
 " that when I have before me in your Letters
 " the plan of the Republic, I may be able to
 " judge what ſort of Edifice it will be. Nor
 " have I hitherto indeed any caufe to complain
 " of you; for nothing has yet happened, which

[*n*] Epift. Fam. 8. 1.

" you

“ you could foresee better than any of us : especially myself, who spent several days with Pompey, in conversing on nothing else, but the Republic; which is neither possible nor proper for me to explain by Letter : take this only from me ; that Pompey is an excellent Citizen, prepared both with courage and counsel for all events, which can be foreseen : wherefore, give yourself up to the man ; believe me, he will embrace you ; for he now holds the same opinion with us, of good and bad Citizens. After I had been ten days at Athens, where our friend Gallus Caninius was much with me, I left it on the sixth of July, when I sent away this Letter : as I earnestly recommend all my affairs to you, so nothing more particularly, than that the time of my Provincial Command be not prolonged : this is every thing to me ; which, when and how, and by whom it is to be managed, you will be the best able to contrive. Adieu [o].

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

HE landed at *Ephesus* on the *twenty-second of July*, after a slow but safe passage of *fifteen days* ; the tediousness of which was agreeably relieved by touching on the way at several of the *islands of the Ægean Sea*, of which he sends a kind of journal to Atticus [p]. Many deputations from the Cities of Asia, and a great concourse of people came to meet him as far as Samos ; but a much greater still was expecting his landing at Ephesus : the Greeks flocked eagerly from all parts, to see a man so celebrated through the empire, for the fame of his learning and eloquence ; so that all his *boastings*, as he merrily says, of many years

[o] Ep. fam. 2. 8.

d. xi. Kal. Sext.—ad Att. 5.

[p] Ephesum venimus a. 13. vid. it. ib. 12.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPI-
CIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS.

past, were now brought to the test [q]. After re-
posing himself for *three days* at Ephesus, he march-
ed forward towards his Province; and, on the last
of July, arrived at Laodicea, one of the Capital
Cities of his Jurisdiction. From this moment
the date of his Government commenced; which
he bids Atticus take notice of, that he might
know how *to compute the precise extent of his annu-
al term* [r].

It was Cicero's resolution, in this Provincial
Command, to practise those admirable rules, which
he had drawn up formerly for his Brother; and
from an employment wholly tedious and disagree-
able to him to derive fresh glory upon his cha-
racter, by leaving the innocence and integrity of
his administration, as a pattern of governing to
all succeeding Proconsuls. It had always been
the custom, when any Governors went abroad to
their Provinces, *that the Countries, through which
they passed, should defray all the charges of their
journey*: but Cicero no sooner set his foot on fo-
reign ground, *than he forbid all expence whatso-
ever, public or private, to be made either upon him-
self, or any of his company*; which raised a great
admiration of him, *in all the cities of Greece* [s].

In

[q] De concursu legatio-
num, privatorum, & de in-
credibili multitudine, quæ mi-
hi jam Sami, sed mirabilem
in modum Ephesi præsto fuit,
aut te audisse puto—ex quo
te intelligere certo scio mul-
torum annorum ostentationes
meas nunc in discrimen esse
adductas—ib. 13.

[r] Laodiceam veni prid.
Kal. Sextiles. Ex hoc die cla-
vum anni movebis Ib. 15.

[s] Ego—quotidie medi-
tor, præcipio meis; faciam
denique ut summa modestia
& summa abstinencia munus
hoc extraordinarium traduca-
mus.—ib. 9.

Adhuc sumptus nec in me
aut publice aut privatim, nec
in quemquam comitum. Ni-
hil accipitur lege Julia, nihil
ab hospite, persuasum est om-
nibus meis serviendum esse
famæ meæ. Belle adhuc.

Hoc

In Asia he did the same; not suffering his officers to accept *what was due to them even by law; forage and wood for firing, nor any thing else, but mere house-room, with four beds*; which he remitted also, as oft as it was practicable, and obliged them *to lodge in their tents*; and by his example and constant exhortations brought *his Lieutenants, Tribuns, and Præfects, so fully into his measures, that they all concurred with him, he says, wonderfully, in a jealous concern for his honor* [t].

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

BEING desirous to put himself at the head of his army, before the Season of action was over, he spent but little time in visiting the Cities of his jurisdiction, reserving *the winter months for settling the civil affairs of the Province* [u]. He went therefore to the Camp, at Iconium in Lycaonia, about the twenty-fourth of August; where he had no sooner reviewed the troops, than he received an account from Antiochus, King of Comagene, which was confirmed from the other Princes of those parts, *that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates with a mighty force, in order to invade the Roman territory under the conduct of Pacorus, the*

Hoc animadversum Græcorum laude & multo sermone celebratur. Ib. 10.

Nos adhuc iter per Græciam summa cum admiratione fecimus. Ib. 11.

[t] Levantur miseræ civitates, quod nullus sit sumptus in nos, neque in Legatos, neque in Quæstorem, neque in quemquam. Scito, non modo nos sænum, aut quod lege Julia dari solet non accipere, sed ne ligna quidem, nec præter quatuor lectos, & tectum, quemquam accipere

quidquam: multis locis ne tectum quidem, & in tabernaculo manere plerumque — ad Att. 5. 16.

Ut nullus terencius infumatur in quemquam; id fit etiam & Legatorum & Tribunorum & Præfectorum diligentia. Nam omnes mirifice *συμπληροῦσθαι* gloriæ meæ —ib. 17.

[u] Erat mihi in animo recta proficisci ad exercitum, æstivos menses reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos jurisdictioni —ib. 14.

A. Urb. 702. *King's son.* Upon this news, he marched towards
 Cic. 56. *Cilicia*, to secure his Province from the inroads
 Coss. of the enemy, or any commotions within; but as
 SERV. SULP. all access to it was difficult, except on the side of
 CIUS RUFUS, Cappadocia, an open country, and not well pro-
 M. CLAU- vided; he took his rout through that kingdom,
 DIUS MAR- and encamped in that part of it which bordered
 CELLUS. upon *Cilicia*, near to the town of *Cybisra*, at the
 foot of mount *Taurus*. His army, as it is said
 above, consisted of about *twelve thousand foot and*
two thousand six hundred horse, besides the auxiliary
 troops of the neighbouring states, and especially
 of *Deiotarus*, *King of Galatia*, the most faithfull
Ally of Rome, and Cicero's particular friend;
 whose whole forces he could depend upon at any
 warning [x].

WHILE he lay in this Camp, he had an op-
 portunity of executing a special commission, with
 which he was charged by the Senate; *to take A-*
riobarzanes, *King of Cappadocia*, under his parti-
 cular protection; and provide for the security of
 his person and government: in honor of whom,
 the Senate had decreed, what they had never
 done before to any foreign Prince, that *his safety*
was of great concern to the Senate and people of

[x] In castra veni a. d.
 vii. Kal. Sept. ad d. iii. exer-
 citum lustravit. Ex his cas-
 tris cum graves de Parthis
 nuncii venirent, perrexi in
 Ciliciam, per Cappadociæ
 partem eam, quæ Ciliciam
 attingit—

Regis Antiochi Comageni
 Legatis primi mihi nuncia-
 runt Parthorum magnas co-
 pias Euphratem transire cœ-
 pisse.— Cum exercitum in

Ciliciam ducerem— mihi lit-
 teræ reddita sunt a Tarcon-
 dimoto, qui fidelissimus socius
 trans Taurum Populi. Rom.
 existimatur. Pacorum Orodii
 Regis Parthorum filium, cum
 permagno equitatu transisse
 Euphratem, &c. Ep. fam.
 15. 1.

Eodem die ab Jamblico,
 Phylarcho Arabum— litteræ
 de eisdem rebus, &c.

Rome. His Father had been killed by the treachery of his subjects, and a conspiracy of the same kind was apprehended against the son: Cicero therefore, in a council of his officers, gave the King an account of *the Decree of the Senate*, and that in consequence of it he was then ready to assist him with his troops and authority in any measures that should be concerted for the safety and quiet of his Kingdom—The King, after great professions of his thanks, and duty to the Senate for the honor of *their decree*, and to Cicero himself for his care in the execution of it, said, *that he knew no occasion for giving him any particular trouble at that time; nor had any suspicion of any design against his life or Crown*: upon which Cicero, after congratulating him upon the tranquillity of his affairs, advised him however, *to remember his Father's fate, and, from the admonition of the Senate, to be particularly vigilant in the care of his person*, and so they parted. But the next morning the King returned early to the Camp, attended by his Brother and Counsellors, and with many tears implored the protection of Cicero, *and the benefit of the Senate's decree*; declaring, “that he had received undoubted intelligence of
“a plot, which those, who were privy to it,
“durst not venture to discover till Cicero's arrival in the Country, but trusting to his authority, had now given full information of it;
“and that his Brother, who was present, and
“ready to confirm what he said, had been solicited to enter into it by the offer of the crown:
“he begged therefore, that some of Cicero's
“troops might be left with him for his better
“guard and defence. Cicero told him, that under the present alarm of the Parthian war, he
“could not possibly lend him any part of his ar-

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. " my ; that, since the conspiracy was detected,
 Cic. 56. " his own forces would be sufficient for prevent-
 Coff. " ing the effects of it ; that he should learn to
 SERV. SULPI- " act the King, by shewing a proper concern for
 CIUS RUFUS, " his own life, and exert his regal power in pu-
 M. CLAU- " nishing the authors of the plot, and pardoning
 DIUS MAR- " all the rest ; that he need not apprehend any
 CELLUS. " farther danger, when his people were acquaint-
 " ed with the Senate's decree, and saw a *Roman*
 " army so near to them, and ready to put it in
 " execution : " and having thus encouraged and
 comforted the King, he marched towards *Cilicia*,
 and gave an account of this accident, and of the
 motions of the *Parthians*, in *two public Letters to*
the Consuls and the Senate : he added a private
 Letter also to Cato, who was a particular favorer,
 and Patron of Ariobarzanes, in which he inform-
 ed him, " that he had not onely secured the King's
 " person from any attempt, but had taken care,
 " that he should reign for the future with honor
 " and dignity, by restoring to his favor and ser-
 " vice his old Counsellors, whom Cato had re-
 " commended, and who had been disgraced by
 " the intrigues of his Court ; and by obliging a
 " turbulent young priest of *Bellona*, who was
 " the head of the Malecontents, and the next
 " in power to the King himself, to quit the coun-
 " try [y]."

THIS King, Ariobarzanes, seems to have been
 poor even to a proverb :

Mancipis locuples egit æris Cappadocum rex.

Hor. Ep. I. 6.

for he had been miserably squeezed and drained
 by the *Roman* Generals and Governors ; to whom

[y] Ep. fam. 15. 2, 3, 4.

he

he owed vast fumms, either actually borrowed, or stipulated to be paid for particular services. It was a common practice with the Great of Rome, *to lend money at an exorbitant interest, to the Princes and Cities, dependent on the Empire*; which was thought an usefull piece of policy to both sides; to the Princes, for the opportunity of engaging to their interests the most powerfull men of the Republic, by a kind of honorable pension; to the Romans, for the convenience of placing their money where it was sure to bring the greatest return of profit. The ordinary interest of these Provincial loans was, *one per Cent. by the month, with interest upon interest*: this was the lowest; but, in extraordinary or hazardous cases, it was frequently four times as much. Pompey received monthly from this very King, *above six thousand pounds sterling*; which yet was short of his full interest. Brutus also had lent him a very large sum, and earnestly desired Cicero to procure the payment of it, with the arrears of interest: but Pompey's agents were so pressing, and the King so needy, that though Cicero solicited Brutus's affair very heartily, he had little hopes of getting any thing for him: when Ariobarzanes came therefore to offer him the same present of money, which he had usually made to every other Governor, he generously refused it, and desired onely, *that instead of giving it to him, it might be paid to Brutus*: but the poor Prince was so distressed, that he excused himself, by the necessity, which he was under, of satisfying some other more pressing demands; so that Cicero gives a sad account of his negotiation, in a long letter to Atticus, who had warmly recommended Brutus's interests to him.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. " I come now, says he, to Brutus ; whom by
 Cic. 56. " your authority I embraced with inclination,
 Coss. " and began even to love : but——what am I
 SERV. SULPI- " going to say ? I recall myself, lest I offend
 CIUS RUFUS, " you——do not think, that I ever entered in-
 M. CLAU- " to any thing more willingly, or took more
 DIUS MAR- " pains, than in what he recommended to me.
 CELLUS. " He gave me a memorial of the particulars,
 " which you had talked over with me before :
 " I pursued your instructions exactly : in the first
 " place, I pressed Ariobarzanes to give that mo-
 " ney to Brutus, which he promised to me : as
 " long as the King continued with me, all things
 " looked well, but he was afterwards teized by
 " six hundred of Pompey's agents ; and Pompey,
 " for other reasons, can do more with him than
 " all the world besides ; but especially, when it
 " is imagined, that he is to be sent to the Par-
 " thian war : they now pay Pompey thirty-three
 " Attic talents per month, out of the taxes, though
 " this falls short of a month's interest : but our
 " friend Cnæus takes it calmly ; and is content
 " to abate something of the interest, without
 " pressing for the principal. As for others, he
 " neither does, nor can pay any man : for he
 " has no treasury, no revenues : he raises taxes
 " by Appius's method of capitation : but these
 " are scarce sufficient for Pompey's monthly pay :
 " two or three of the King's friends are very
 " rich ; but they hold their own as closely, as
 " either you or I--I do not forbear however to ask,
 " urge and chide him by Letters : King Deiotar-
 " us also told me, that he had sent people to
 " him on purpose, to solicit for Brutus ; but
 " they brought him word back, that he had real-
 " ly no money : which I take indeed to be the
 " case ; that nothing is more drained than his
 " kingdom ;

“ kingdom ; nothing poorer than the King [z].” A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.

BUT Brutus had recommended another affair of the same nature to Cicero, which gave him much more trouble. The City of *Salamis* in *Cyprus* owed to two of his friends, as he pretended, *Scaptius* and *Matinius*, above *twenty thousand pounds sterling* upon bond, at a most extravagant interest ; and he begged of Cicero to take their persons and concerns under his special protection. *Appius*, who was Brutus’s father-in-law, had granted every thing which was asked to *Scaptius* ; *a Præfecture in Cyprus, with some troops of horse*, with which he miserably harassed the poor *Salaminians*, in order to force them to comply with his unreasonable demands ; for *he shut up their whole senate in the council-room, till five of them were starved to death with hunger [a]*. Brutus labored to place him in the same degree of favor with Cicero : but Cicero being informed of this violence at *Ephesus*, by a deputation from *Salamis*, made it the first act of his government to recall the troops from *Cyprus*, and put an end to *Scaptius’s Præfecture*, having laid it down for a rule, to grant no command to any man, *who was concerned in trade, or negotiating money in the Province* : to give satisfaction however to Brutus, he enjoined *the Salaminians to pay off Scaptius’s bond*, which they were ready to do according to the tenor of his edict, by which he had ordered, *that no bonds in his province should carry above one per Cent. by the month*. *Scaptius* refused to take the money on those terms, insisting on *four per Cent.* as the condition of his bond expressed ; which by

[z] Ad Att. 6. 1.

[a] Fuerat enim Præfectus Appio, & quidem habuerat turmas Equitum, quibus in-

clusum in curia senatum Salamine obsederat, ut fame senatores quinque morerentur, —ibid.

A. Urb. 702. computation almost doubled the principal sum; while the Salaminians, as they protested to Cicero, *could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been enabled to do it by his help, and out of his own dues, that he had remitted to them; which amounted to somewhat more than Scaptius's legal demand* [b].

Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THIS extortion raised Cicero's indignation; and notwithstanding the repeated instances of Brutus and Atticus, he was determined to over-rule it; though Brutus, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confess, *what he had all along dissembled, that the debt was really his own, and Scaptius onely his agent in it* [c]. This surprised Cicero still more, and though he had a warm inclination to oblige Brutus, yet he could not consent to so flagrant an injustice, but makes frequent and heavy complaints of it in his letters to Atticus—"You have now, says he, in one of them, the ground of my conduct; if Brutus does not approve it, I see no reason why we should love him; but I am sure, it will be approved by his uncle, Cato [d]." In

[b] Itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii Legati Ephesum obviam venissent, litteras misi ut equites ex insula statim decederent—ad Att. 6. 1. conferam, ut solverent centesimis—ad Scaptius quaternas postulabat—ib. homines non modo non recusare, sed etiam dicere, se a meolvere. Quod enim Prætori dare consueverant, quoniam ego non acceperam, se a me quodam modo dare; atque etiam minus esse aliquanto in Scaptii no-

mine, quam in vestigali prætorio—ib. 5. 21.

[c] Atque hoc tempore ipso impingit mihi epistolam Scaptius Bruti, rem illam suo periculo esse: quod nec mihi unquam Brutus dixerat nec tibi—ib. nunquam ex illo audiavi illam pecuniam esse suam—ib.

[d] Habes meam causam: quæ si Bruto non probatur, nescio cur illum amemus: sed avunculo ejus certe probabitur.—ib. 5. 21.

another;

another; "If Brutus thinks that I ought to allow him four per Cent. when by edict I have decreed but one through all the province, and that, to the satisfaction of the keenest usurers; if he complains, that I denied a Præfecture to one, concerned in trade, which I denied, for that reason, to your friend Lenius, and to Sex. Staius, though Torquatus solicited for the one, and Pompey himself for the other, yet without disgusting either of them; if he takes it ill that I recalled the troops of horse out of Cyprus; I shall be sorry indeed, that he has any occasion to be angry with me; but much more, not to find him the man that I took him to be—I would have you to know however, that I have not forgot what you intimated to me in several of your Letters, that if I brought back nothing else from the province but Brutus's friendship, that would be enough: let it be so, since you will have it so; yet it must always be with this exception; as far as it can be done, without my committing any wrong—[*e*]." In a third; "How, my dear Atticus! you who applaud my integrity and good conduct, and are vexed sometimes, you

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

[*e*] Si Brutus putabit me quaternas centesimas oportuisse decernere, qui in tota provincia singulas observarem, itaque edixissem, idque etiam acerbissimis fœneratoribus probaretur; si præfecturam negotiatori denegatam queretur, quod ego Torquato nostro in tuo Lenio, Pompeio ipsi in S. Statio negavi, & iis probavi; si equites deductos moleste feret; accipiam equidem dolorem, mihi illum

irasci, sed multo maiorem, non esse eum talem, qualem putassem.—Sed plane te intelligere volui, mihi non excidisse illud quod tu ad me quibusdam litteris scripsisses, si nihil aliud de hac Provincia nisi illius benevolentiam deportassem, mihi id satis esse. Sit sane, quoniam ita tu vis sed tamen cum eo credo, quod sine peccato meo fiat—*ibid.*

"say,

A. Urb. 702. " say, that you are not with me ; how can such
 Cic. 56. " a thing, as Ennius says, come out of your
 Coss. " mouth, to desire me to grant troops to Scap-
 SERV. SULPI- " tius, for the sake of extorting money ? could
 CIUS RUFUS, " you, if you were with me, suffer me to do it,
 M. CLAU- " if I would ?—— if I really had done such a
 DIUS MAR- " thing, with what face could I ever read again,
 CELLUS. " or touch those books of mine, with which you
 " are so much pleased [*f*] ?" He tells him like-
 wise in confidence, that all Brutus's Letters to
 him, even when he was asking favors, *were un-*
mannerly, churlish, and arrogant ; without regard-
ing either what, or to whom he was writing ; and
if he continued in that humor ; you may love him
alone, says he, if you please, you shall have no rival
of me ; but he will come, I believe, to a better
*mind [*g*]. But to shew, after all, what a real in-*
clination he had to oblige him, he never left
urging King Ariobarzanes, till he had squeezed from
him a hundred talents, in part of Brutus's debt, or
about twenty thousand pounds ; the same sum
probably, which had been destined to Cicero him-
*self [*b*].*

WHILE

[*f*] Ain' tandem Attice, laudator integritatis & elegantiae nostrae ? ausus es hoc ex ore tuo, inquit Ennius, ut equites Scaptio ad pecuniam cogendam darem, me rogare ? an tu, si mecum esses, qui scribis morderi te interdum quod non simul sis, paterere me id facere, si vellem ? — & ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas ? si tale quid fecero — ad Att. 6. 2.

[*g*] Ad me etiam, cum ro-

gat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀκονιστήτως solet scribere—— ib. 6. 1.

Omnino (soli enim sumus) nullas unquam ad me literas misit Brutus — in quibus non esset arrogans, ἀκονιστήτως aliquid — in quo tamen ille mihi risum magis quam stomachum movere solet. Sed plane parum cogitat, quid scribat, aut ad quem — ib. 6. 3.

[*b*] Bruti tui causa, ut saepe ad te scripsi, feci omnia — Ariobarzanes non in Pompeium

WHILE he lay encamped in Cappadocia, expecting what way the Parthians would move, he received an account, that they had taken a different rout, and were advanced to Antioch in Syria, where they held C. Cassius blocked up; and that a detachment of them had actually penetrated into Cilicia, *but were routed, and cut off by those troops, which were left to guard the Country.* Upon this he presently decamped, and by great journies over mount Taurus, marched in all haste to possess himself of the passes of Amanus: a great and strong mountain, lying between Syria and Cilicia, and the common boundary of them both. By this march, and the approach of his army to the neighbourhood of Syria, the Parthians being discouraged, retired from Antioch; which gave Cassius an opportunity of falling upon them in their retreat, and gained a considerable advantage, in which one of their principal commanders, Osaces, was mortally wounded [i].

IN the suspense of the Parthian war, which the late disgrace of Crassus had made terrible at Rome, Cicero's friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in some pain for his safety and success: but now that he found himself engaged, and pushed to the neces-

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

peium prolixior per ipsum, quam per me in Brutum—pro ratione pecuniæ liberius est Brutus tractatus, quam Pompeius. Bruto curata hoc anno talenta circiter c. Pompeio in sex mensibus promissa cc.——ibid.——

[i] Itaque confestim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri py-las. Tarsum veni a. d. iii. Non. Oct. inde ad Amanum contendi, qui Syriam a Cili-

cia in aquarum divortio dividit—rumore adventus nostri, & Cassio, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus accessit, & Parthis timor injectus est. Itaque eos cedentes ab oppido Cassius insecutus rem bene gessit. Qua in fuga magna auctoritate Osaces, dux Parthorum, vulnus accepit, eo-que interiit paucis post diebus. Ad Att. 5. 20.

A. Urb. 702. sity of acting the General, he seems to have want-
 Cic. 56. ed neither the courage nor conduct of an experi-
 Coff. enced Leader. In a Letter to Atticus, dated
 SERV. SULPI- from his Camp; "We are in great spirits, says
 CIUS RUFUS, "he, and as our counsils are good, have no
 M. CLAU- "distrust of an engagement: we are securely en-
 DIUS MAR- "camped, with plenty of provisions, and in
 CELLUS. "fight almost of Cilicia; with a small army in-
 "deed, but, as I have reason to believe, intire-
 "ly well affected to me; which I shall double
 "by the accession of Deiotarus, who is upon the
 "road to join me: I have the allies more firmly
 "attached to me, than any Governor ever had:
 "they are wonderfully taken with my easiness
 "and abstinence; we are making new levies of
 "Citizens, and establishing magazines: if there
 "be occasion for fighting, we shall not decline
 "it; if not, shall defend ourselves by the
 "strength of our posts: wherefore be of good
 "heart, for I see as much as if you were with
 "me, the sympathy of your love for me [k]."

BUT the danger of the Parthians being over for this season, Cicero resolved, that his labor should not be lost, and his army dismissed, without attempting something of moment. The inhabitants of the mountains, close to which he now lay, were a fierce, untamed race of Banditti or Freebooters, who had never submitted to the Roman power, but lived in perpetual defiance of it, trusting to their forts and castles, which were supposed to be impregnable from the strength of their situation. He thought it therefore of no small importance to the Empire, to reduce them to a state of subjection; and, in order to conceal his design, and take them unprovided, he drew off his forces

on pretence of marching to the distant parts of Cilicia; but after a day's journey stopt short, and having refreshed his army, and left his baggage behind, turned back again in the night with the utmost celerity, and reached Amanus *before day on the thirteenth of October*. He divided his troops among his four Lieutenants, and himself, accompanied by his Brother, led up one part of them, and so coming upon the natives by surprise, they easily killed or made them all prisoners: they took *six strong forts, and burned many more*; but the Capital of the mountain, *Erana*, made a brave resistance, and held out from break of day, to four in the afternoon. Upon this success *Cicero was saluted Emperor*, and sat down again at the foot of the hills, where he spent *five days* in demolishing the other strong holds, and wasting the lands of these Mountaineers. In this place his troops were lodged in the *same Camp which Alexander the great had formerly used, when he beat Darius at Issus; and where there remained three Altars, as the monument of his victory, which bore his name to that day: a circumstance, which furnished matter for some pleasantry, in his Letters to his friends at Rome [1].*

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coss.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

VOL. II.

O

FROM

[1] Qui mons erat hostium plenus sempiternorum. Hic a. ad. 111. idus Octob. magnum numerum hostium occidimus. Castella munitissima, nocturno Pontinii adventu, nostro matutino cepimus, incendimus. Imperatores appellati sumus. Castra paucos dies habuimus, ea ipsa, quæ contra Darium habuerat apud Issum Alexander, Imperator haud paullo meli-

or, quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati, direpto & vastato Amano, inde discessimus.—Ad Att. 5, 20.

Expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut ad 111. Id. Octob. cum lucisceret, in Amanum ascenderem, distributisque cohortibus & auxiliis, cum aliis Quintus frater Legatus, mecum simul, aliis C. Pontinius Legatus, reliquis M. Anneius, & M. Tullius Legati

A. Urb. 702. FROM Amanus, he led his army to another
 Cic. 56. part of the High-lands, the most disaffected to
 Coss. the Roman name, possessed by a stout and free
 SERV. SULP- people, who had never been subject even to the
 CIUS RUFUS, *King of that Country*. Their chief Town was
 M. CLAU- called Pindenissum, situated on a steep and craggy
 DIUS MAR- hill, strongly fortified by nature and art, and pro-
 CELLUS. vided with every thing necessary for defence: it
 was the constant refuge of all deserters, and the
 harbour of foreign enemies, and at that very time
 was expecting, and prepared to receive the Par-
 thians: Cicero, resolving therefore to chastise
 their insolence, and bring them under the Roman
 yoke, laid siege to it in form; and though he
 pushed it on with all imaginable vigor, and a
 continual battery of his Engines, yet it cost him
above six weeks to reduce it to the necessity of
surrendering at discretion. The inhabitants were
sold for slaves, and when Cicero was writing the
 account from his Tribunal, he had already raised
about a hundred thousand pounds by that sale: all
the other plunder, excepting the horses, was given
to the soldiers. In his letter upon it to Atticus,
the Pindenissians, says he, surrendered to me on the
Saturnalia, after a siege of seven-and-forty days:
but what, the plague, will you say, are these Pin-
denissians? I never heard of their name before—
How can I help that? could I turn Cilicia into Æ-

Legati præessent: plerosque
 nec opinantes oppressimus—
 Eranam autem, quæ fuit non
 vici instar, sed urbis, quod
 erat Amani caput—acriter &
 diu repugnantibus, Pontinio
 illam partem Amani tenente,
 ex antelucano tempore usque
 ad horam diei decimam,
 magna multitudine hostium

occisa, cepimus, castellaque
 fex capta: complura incendi-
 mus. His rebus ita gestis,
 castra in radicibus Amani ha-
 buimus apud aras Alexandri
 quatrimum: & in reliquiis
 Amani delendis, agrisque va-
 standis—id tempus omne con-
 sumimus—Ep. fam. 15. 4.
 vid. ibid. 2. 10:

tolia or Macedonia? take this however for certain, that no man could do more, than I have done, with such an army, &c [m]. After this action, another neighbouring nation, of the same spirit and fierceness, called *Tiburani*, terrified by the fate of *Pindenissum*, voluntarily submitted, and gave hostages; so that Cicero sent his army into winter quarters under the command of his Brother, into those parts of the province, which were thought the most turbulent [n].

WHILE he was engaged in this expedition, Papirius Pætus, an eminent wit and Epicurean, with whom he had a particular intimacy and correspondence of facetious Letters, sent him some military instructions in the way of raillery; to which Cicero answered in the same jocular manner: “Your Letter, says he, has made me a complete commander: I was wholly ignorant before of your great skill in the art of war; but

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

[m] Confectis his rebus ad Oppidum Eleutherocilicum, Pindenissum, exercitum adduxi: quod cum esset altissimo & munitissimo loco, ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne Regibus quidem unquam paruisent: cum & fugitivos reciperent, & Parthorum adventum acerrime expectarent: ad existimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam — vallo & fossa circumdedi, sex castellis, castrisque maximis sepsi, aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi, ususque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis, magno labore meo — septimo quadagesimo die rem confeci — Ep. fam. 15. 4.

Qui (malum) isti Pindenissæ? qui sunt? inquires: nomen audiui nunquam. Quid ego faciam? potui Ciliciam, Ætoliæ, aut Macedoniam reddere? hoc jam sic habeto, nec hoc exercitu hic tanta negotia geri potuisse. — &c. — ad Att. 5. 20.

Mancipia vænibant Saturnalibus tertiis, cum hæc scribebam in tribunali, res erat ad H. S. cxx. Ib. —

[n] Hiis erant finitimi pari scelere & audacia *Tiburani*: ab his, Pindenisso capto, obsides accepi, exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. Fratrem negotio præposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut malo pacatis exercitus collocaretur. Ep. fam. 15. 4.

A. Urb. 702. “ perceive, that you have read Pyrrhus and Ci-
 Cic. 56. “ neas. Wherefore I intend to follow your pre-
 Coss. “ cepts, and withal, to have some ships in rea-
 SERV. SULPI- “ diness on the coast; for they deny that there
 CIUS RUFUS, “ can be any better defence against the Parthian
 M. CLAU- “ horse. But raillery apart: you little think,
 DIUS MAR- “ what a General you have to deal with: for in
 CELLUS. “ this government, I have reduced to practice,
 “ what I had worn out before with reading, the
 “ whole institution of Cyrus, &c. [o]” These
 martial exploits spread Cicero’s fame into Syria,
 where Bibulus was just arrived to take upon him
 the Command; but kept himself close within the
 gates of Antioch, *till the Country was cleared of all
 the Parthians*: his envy of Cicero’s success, and
 title of EMPEROR, made him impatient to pur-
 chase the same honor by the same service, *on the
 Syrian side of the mountain Amanus*: but he had
 the misfortune to be repulsed in his attempt, with
 the intire loss of *the first Cohort, and several offi-
 cers of distinction*, which Cicero calls *an ugly blow
 both for the time and the effect of it* [p].

THOUGH Cicero had obtained what he calls *a
 just victory at Amanus*, and, in consequence of it,
the appellation of Emperor, which he assumed from
 this time; *yet he sent no public account of it to
 Rome, till after the affair of Pindenissum*, an ex-
 ploit of more eclat and importance; for which he
 expected *the honor of a Thanksgiving*, and began to
 entertain hopes even of a Triumph. His public
 Letter is lost, but that loss is supplied by a par-

[o] Ep. fam. 9. 25.

[p] Erat in Syria nostrum
 nomen in gratia. Venit in-
 terim Bibulus. Credo voluit
 appellatione hac inani nobis
 esse par. In eodem Amano

cœpit laureolam in mustaceo
 quarere. At ille cohortem
 primam totam perdidit—
 sane plagam odiosam accepe-
 rat tum re tum tempore. —
 ad Att. 5. 20.

ticular

ricular narrative of the whole action in a private Letter to Cato: the design of paying this compliment to Cato, was to engage his vote and concurrence to the *decree of the Supplication*; and by the pains, which he takes to obtain it, where he was sure of gaining his point without it, shews the high opinion which he had of Cato's authority, and how desirous he was to have the testimony of it on his side. But Cato was not to be moved from his purpose by compliment, or motives of friendship: he was an enemy by principle to all decrees of this kind, and thought them bestowed too cheaply, and prostituted to occasions unworthy of them: so that when Cicero's Letters came under deliberation, though he spoke with all imaginable honor and respect of Cicero, and highly extolled both his *civil and military administration*, yet he voted against the *Supplication*; which was decreed however without any other dissenting voice, except that of Favonius, who loved always to mimic Cato, and of Hirrus, who had a personal quarrel with Cicero: yet when the vote was over, *Cato himself assisted in drawing up the decree, and had his name inserted in it*; which was the usual mark of a particular approbation of the thing, and friendship to the person in whose favor it passed [q]. But Cato's answer to Cicero's Letter will shew the temper of the

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

[q] Nunc publicè litteras Romam mittere parabam. Uberiores erunt, quam si ex Amano misissem. Ibid.

Deinde de Triumpho, quem video, nisi Reipub. tempora impediunt, εὐπερίως— ad Att. 7. 1.

Ei porro assensus est unus, familiaris meus Favonius; al-

ter iratus Hirrus. Cato autem & scribendo affuit—ib.

Res ipsa declarat, tibi illum honorem supplicationis jucundum fuisse, quod scribendo affuisti. Hæc enim Senatus consulta non ignoro ab amicissimis ejus, ejus de honore agitur, scribi solere. Ep. fam. 15 6.

A. Urb. 702. man, and the grounds on which he acted on this
Cic. 56. occasion.
Coff.

SERV. SULPI-
CIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS.

M. Cato to M. T. Cicero, Emperor.

“ IN compliance with what both the Repub-
“ lic and our private friendship require of me, I
“ rejoice that your virtue, innocence, diligence,
“ approved in the greatest affairs, exerts itself
“ every-where with equal vigor ; at home in the
“ gown, abroad in arms. I did all therefore,
“ that I could do, agreeably to my own judge-
“ ment, when in my vote and speech, I ascrib-
“ ed to your innocence and good conduct the
“ defence of your province, the safety of the
“ kingdom and person of Ariobarzanes ; the re-
“ covery of the allies to their duty and affection
“ to our Empire. I am glad however, that a
“ Supplication is decreed ; if, where chance had
“ no part, but the whole was owing to your con-
“ summate prudence and moderation, you are
“ better pleased, that we should hold ourselves
“ indebted to the Gods, than to you. But if you
“ think that a Supplication will pave the way
“ to a Triumph, and for that reason chuse, that
“ fortune should have the praise, rather than
“ yourself ; yet a Triumph does not always fol-
“ low a Supplication, and it is much more ho-
“ norable than any Triumph, for the Senate to
“ decree, that a Province is preserved to the
“ Empire by the mildness and innocence of the
“ General, rather than by the force of arms,
“ and the favor of the Gods. This was the pur-
“ pose of my vote ; and I have now employed
“ more words, than it is my custom to do, that
“ you might perceive, what I chiefly wish to testi-
“ fy, how desirous I am to convince you, that in
“ regard to your glory, I had a mind to do what
“ I took

" I took to be the most honorable for you; yet
 " rejoice to see that done which you are the
 " most pleased with. Adieu, and still love me;
 " and agreeably to the course, which you have
 " begun, continue your integrity and diligence
 " to the allies, and the Republic [r].

A. Urb. 702.
 Cic. 56.
 Coff.
 SERV. SULPI-
 CIUS RUFUS,
 M. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS.

CÆSAR was delighted to hear of Cato's stiffness, in hopes that it would create a coldness between him and Cicero; and in a *congratulatory Letter to Cicero*, upon the success of his arms, and the *Supplication* decreed to him, took care to aggravate the rudeness and ingratitude of Cato [s]. Cicero himself was highly disgusted at it; especially when Cato soon afterwards voted a *Supplication to his Son-in-law, Bibulus, who had done much less to deserve it*. Cato, says he, was shamefully malicious; he gave me what I did not ask, a character of integrity, justice, clemency; but denied me what I did—yet this same man voted a *Supplication of twenty days to Bibulus: pardon me, if I cannot bear this usage*—[t] yet, as he had a good opinion of Cato in the main, and a farther suit to make to the Senate, in the demand of a Triumph, he chose to dissemble his resentment, and returned him a civil answer, to signify his satisfaction and thanks for what he had thought fit to do [u].

CICERO's campaign ended just so, as Cælius had wished in one of his Letters to him; *with fighting enough to give a claim to the laurel; yet*

[r] Ep. fam. 15. 5.

[s] Itaque Cæsar iis litteris, quibus mihi gratulatur, & omnia pollicetur, quo modo exultat Catonis in me ingratissimi injuria; ad Att. 7. 2.

[t] Aveo scire—Cato quid agat: qui quidem in me tur-

piter fuit malevolus. Dedit integritatis, justitiæ, clementiæ, fidei testimonium, quod non quæreham, quod postulabam, negavit—at hic idem Bibulo dierum viginti. Ignosce mihi, non possum hæc ferre—ibid.—

[u] Ep. fam. 15. 6.

O 4

without

A. Urb. 702. *without the risk of a battle with the Parthians [x].*
 Cic. 56. *During these months of action, he sent away the*
 Coss. *two young Cicero's, the son and nephew, to King*
 SERV. SULP. *Deiotarus's court, under the conduct of the King's*
 CIUS RUFUS, *son, who came on purpose to invite them: they*
 M. CLAU- *were kept strictly to their books and exercises,*
 DIUS MAR *and made great proficiency in both; though the*
 CELLUS. *one of them, as Cicero says, wanted the bit, the*
other the spur: their Tutor Dionysius attended
them, a man of great learning and probity, but, as
his young pupils complained, horribly passion-
ate [y]. Deiotarus himself was setting forward
to join Cicero with all his forces, upon the first
news of the Parthian irruption: he had with him
thirty cohorts, of four hundred men each, armed
and disciplined after the Roman manner, with two
thousand horse; but the Parthian alarm being over,
Cicero sent Couriers to meet him on the road, in
order to prevent his marching to no purpose, so far
from his own dominion [z]: the old King how-
ever seems to have brought the children back.

[x] Ut optasti, ita est; vel-
 les enim, ais, tantummodo
 ut haberem negotii quod esset
 ad laureolam satis. Parthos
 times, quia diffidis copiis
 nostris. Ep. fam. 2. 10. 8.
 5.

[y] Cicerones nostros De-
 iotarus filius, qui Rex a Se-
 natu appellatus est, secum in
 regnum. Dum in ætivistis nos
 essemus, illum pueris locum
 esse bellissimum duximus. Ad
 Att. 5. 17.

Cicerones pueri amant in-
 ter se, discunt, exercentur:
 sed alter—frænis eget, alter
 calcaribus—Dionysius mihi
 quidem in amonibus est. Pueri

autem aiunt cum furenter ir-
 ra-ci. Sed homo nec doc-
 tior, nec sanctior fieri potest.
 lb. 6. 1.

[z] Mihi tamen cum De-
 iotaro convenit, ut ille in
 meis castris esset cum omnibus
 suis copiis, habet autem co-
 hortis quadringenarias nostra
 armatura triginta; equitum
 duo millia—ib.

Deiotorum confestim jam
 ad me venientem cum magno
 & firmo equitatu & peditatu
 & cum omnibus suis copiis,
 certiozem feci, non videri
 esse causam cur abesset a reg-
 no—Ep. fam. 15. 4.

again

again in person, for the opportunity of paying his compliments, and spending some time with his friend; for, by what Cicero intimates, they appear to have had an interview [a].

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THE remaining part of Cicero's Government was employed in the civil affairs of the Province: where his whole care was to ease the several cities and districts of that excessive load of debts, in which the avarice and rapaciousness of former governors had involved them. He laid it down for the first rule of his administration, not to suffer any money to be expended either upon himself or his officers: and when one of his Lieutenants, L. Tullius, in passing through the country, exacted only the forage and firing, which was due by law; and that but once a day, and not, as all others had done before, from every Town and Village through which they passed, he was much out of humor, and could not help complaining of it, as a stain upon his Government, since none of his people besides had taken even a single farthing. All the wealthier Cities of the Province used to pay to all their Proconsuls large contributions for being exempted from furnishing winter quarters to the army: Cyprus alone paid yearly on this single account two hundred talents, or about forty thousand pounds: but Cicero remitted this whole tax to them, which alone made a vast revenue; and applied all the customary perquisites of his office to the relief of the oppressed Province: yet for all his services and generosity, which amazed the poor people, he would accept no honors, but what were merely verbal; prohibiting all expensive monuments, as Statues, Temples, brazen horses, &c. which,

[a] Deiotarus mihi narravit, &c. ad Att. 6. 1 5. 21.

by

A. Urb. 702. by the flattery of Asia, used to be erected of
 Cic. 56. course to all Governors, though ever so corrupt
 Coss. and oppressive. While he was upon his visita-
 SERV. SULPI- tion of the Asiatic Districts, there happened to be
 CIUS RUFUS, a kind of famine in the country; yet where-ever
 M. CLAU- he came, he not only provided for his family at
 DIUS MAR- his own expence, but prevailed with the Mer-
 CELLUS, chants and Dealers, who had any quantity of
 corn in their store-houses, *to supply the people with
 it on easy terms* [b]; living himself, all the while,
*splendidly and hospitably, and keeping an open table,
 not only for all the Roman officers, but the Gentry
 of the Province* [c]. In the following Letter to
 Atticus, he gives him a summary view of his
 manner of governing.

“ I see, says he, that you are much pleased
 “ with my moderation and abstinence; but you
 “ would be much so, if you were with me;
 “ especially at Laodicea; where I did wonders at

[b] Cave putes quicquam homines magis unquam esse miratos, quam nullum teruncium, me obtinente provinciam, sumtus factum esse nec in Remp. nec in quemquam meorum, præterquam in L. Tullium, Legatum. Is cæteroqui abstinentis (sed Julia lege transitans, semel tamen in diem, non ut alii solebant omnibus vicis) facit ut mihi excipiendus sit, cum teruncium nego sumtus factum. Præter eum accepit nemo. Has sordes a nostro Q. Titinio accepimus—ad Att. 5. 21.

Civitates locupletes, ne in hiberna milites reciperent, magnas pecunias dabant. Cyprii talenta Attica cc. Qua

exinsula (non ὑπερβολικῶς sed verissimè loquor) nummus nulum me obtinente erogabitur. Ob hæc beneficia, quibus obstupescunt, nullos honores mihi, nisi verborum, decerni sino. Statuas, fana, τεθρίππα, prohibeo—ib.

Fames, quæ erat in hac mea Asia, mihi optanda fuerit. Quacunque iter feci, nulla vi,—auctoritate & cohortatione perfeci, ut & Græci & Cives Romani, qui frumentum compresserant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur—ib.

[c] Ita vivam, ut maximos sumptus facio. Mirifice delector hoc instituto. Ad Att. 5. 15.

“ the

“ the sessions, which I have just held, for the
 “ affairs of the Dioces, from the thirteenth of
 “ February to the first of May. Many cities are
 “ wholly freed from all their debts; many great-
 “ ly eased; and all, by being allowed to govern
 “ themselves by their own laws, have recovered
 “ new life. There are two ways, by which I
 “ have put them into a capacity of freeing, or
 “ of easing themselves at least of their debts;
 “ the one is by suffering no expence at all to be
 “ made on the account of my government.
 “ When I say none at all, I speak not hyperbo-
 “ lically; there is not so much as a farthing: it
 “ is incredible to think, what relief they have
 “ found from this single article. The other is
 “ this; their own Greek Magistrates had strange-
 “ ly abused and plundered them. I examined
 “ every one of them, who had born any office
 “ for ten years past: they all plainly confessed;
 “ and, without the ignominy of a public con-
 “ viction, made restitution of the money, which
 “ they had pillaged: so that the people, who
 “ had paid nothing to our farmers for the present
 “ Lustrum, have now paid the arrears of the
 “ last, even without murmuring. This has
 “ placed me in high favour with the Publicans,
 “ a grateful set of men, you’ll say: I have really
 “ found them such—the rest of my jurisdiction
 “ shall be managed with the same address: and
 “ create the same admiration of my clemency
 “ and easiness. There is no difficulty of access
 “ to me, as there is to all other Provincial Go-
 “ vernors; no introduction by my Chamber-
 “ lain: I am always up before day, and walking
 “ in my Hall, with my doors open, as I used
 “ to do, when a Candidate at Rome: this is
 “ great and gracious here; though not at all
 “ troublefom

A. Urb. 702.
 Cic. 56.
 Coss.
 SERV. SULPI-
 CIUS RUFUS,
 M. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. "troublesom to me, from my old habit and
Cic. 56. "discipline—&c." [d].

Coff.

SERV. SULPI-

CIVS RUFUS,

M. CLAU-

DIUS MAR-

CELLUS.

THIS method of governing gave no small umbrage to Appius; who considered it as a reproach upon himself, and sent several querulous Letters to Cicero, because he had reversed some of his constitutions: "And no wonder, says Cicero, that he is displeased with my manner, for what can be more unlike, than his administration and mine? under him the Province was drained by expences and exactions; under me, not a penny levied for public or private use: what shall I say of his Præfects, attendants, Lieutenants? of their plunders, rapines, injuries? whereas now, there is not a single family governed with such order, discipline, and modesty, as my Province, This some of Appius's friends interpret ridiculously; as if I was taking pains to exalt my own character, in order to depress his; and doing all this, not for the sake of my own credit, but of his disgrace [e]." But the truth was, that, from the time of his reconciliation with Appius, he had a sincere desire to live on good terms with him; as well out of regard to the splendor of his birth, and fortunes, as to his great alliances; for one of his daughters was married to Pompey's son, and another to Brutus [f]: so

that,

[d] Ib. 6. 2.

[e] Quid enim potest esse tantum dissimile, quam illo imperante, exhaustam esse sumptibus & jacturis provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus, nummum nullum esse erogatum nec privatim nec publice, &c.

—ib. 6. 1.

[f] Ego Appium ut tecum sæpe locutus sum, valde diligo. Meque ab eo diligenter statim cœptum esse, ut similitudinem deposuimus, sensi—jam me Pompeii totum esse scis: Brutum a me amari intelligis. Quid est causæ, cur mihi non in optatis est com-
plecti

that, though their principles and maxims were totally different, yet he took care to do every thing with the greatest professions of honor and respect towards Appius, even when he found it necessary to rescind his decrees; considering himself onely, he says, *as a second Physician called in to a case of sickness, where he found it necessary to change the method of cure, and when the Patient had been brought low by evacuations, and blood-letting, to apply all kinds of lenitive and restoring medicines* [g].

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

As soon as the Government of Cilicia was allotted to him, he acquainted Appius with it by Letter, begging of him, *that, as no man could succede to it with a more friendly disposition than himself, so Appius would deliver up the Province to him, in such a condition, as one friend would expect to receive it from another* [b]: in answer to which, Appius, having intimated some desire of an interview, Cicero took occasion to press it with much earnestness, as a thing of great service to them both; and, that it might not be defeated, gave him an account of all his stages and motions, and offered to regulate them in such a manner, *as to make the place of their meeting the*

plecti hominem, florentem ætate, opibus, honoribus, ingenio, liberis, propinquis affinis, amicis.—Ep. fam. 2. 13.

[g] Ut si Medicus, cum ægrotus alio medico traditus sit, irasci velit ei medico, qui sibi successerit, si quæ ipse in curando constituerit mutet ille. Sic Appius, cum ἐξ ἀ-
καρπεύας provinciam curarit, sanguinem miserit, &c. ad

Att. 6. 1.

[b] Cum contra voluntatem meam — accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in Provinciam ire necesse esset— hæc una consolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amicior, quam ego sum, quisquam posset succedere, neque ego ab ullo provinciam accipere, qui mallet eam mihi quam maxime aptam explicatamque tradere, &c. Ep. fam. 3. 2.

A. Urb. 702. *most agreeable to Appius's convenience*: but Appius being disgusted by the first edicts which Cicero published, resolved for that reason to disappoint him; and as Cicero advanced into the Province, retired still to the remoter parts of it, and contrived to come upon him at last so suddenly, that Cicero had not warning enough given to go out and meet him; which Appius laid hold of, as a fresh ground of complaint against Cicero's pride, for refusing that common piece of respect to him [i].

Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THIS provoked Cicero to expostulate with him, with great spirit——“ I was informed, says he, by one of my Apparitors, that you complained of me for not coming out to meet you; I despised you, it seems, so as nothing could be prouder—— when your servant came to me near midnight, and told me, that you would be with me at *Iconium* before day, but could not say, by which road, when there were two; I sent out your friend Varro by the one, and Q. Lepta, the Commander of my Artillery, by the other, with instructions to each of them, to bring me timely notice of your approach, that I might come out in person to meet you. Lepta came running back presently in all haste to acquaint me, that you had already passed by the Camp; upon which I went directly to *Iconium*, where you know the rest. Did I then refuse to come out to you? to Appius Claudius; to an Emperor; then, according to ancient custom; and above all

[i] — me libenter ad eam partem provinciæ primum esse venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitrarer, &c.— ib. 5.

Appius noster, cum me adventare videt, profectus est Tarsum usque Laodiceâ— ad Att. 5. 17.

“ to

“ to my friend? I, who of all men am apt to
 “ do more in that way than becomes my digni-
 “ ty? but enough of this. The same man told
 “ me likewise, that you said, What! Appius
 “ went out to meet Lentulus; Lentulus to Ap-
 “ pius; but Cicero would not come out to Ap-
 “ pius. Can you then be guilty of such imper-
 “ tinance? a man, in my judgement, of the
 “ greatest prudence, learning, experience; and
 “ I may add politeness too, which the Stoics
 “ rightly judge to be a virtue? do you imagine,
 “ that your Appius’s and Lentulus’s are of more
 “ weight with me than the ornaments of virtue?
 “ before I had obtained those honors, which, in
 “ the opinion of the world, are thought to be
 “ the greatest, I never fondly admired those
 “ names of yours: I looked indeed upon those,
 “ who had left them to you, as great men; but
 “ after I had acquired, and born the highest
 “ Commands, so as to have nothing more to de-
 “ sire, either of honour or glory, I never indeed
 “ considered myself as your superior, but hoped,
 “ that I was become your equal: nor did Pom-
 “ pey, whom I prefer to all men, who ever
 “ lived, nor Lentulus, whom I prefer to my-
 “ self, think otherwise: if you however are of
 “ a different opinion, it will do you no harm to
 “ read with some attention what Athenodorus
 “ says on this subject, that you may learn where-
 “ in true nobility consists. But to return to the
 “ point: I desire you to look upon me, not one-
 “ ly as your friend, but a most affectionate one:
 “ it shall be my care by all possible services to con-
 “ vince you, that I am truly so: but if you have
 “ a mind to let people see, that you are less con-
 “ cerned for my interest, in my absence, than

A. Urb. 702.
 Cic. 56.
 Coss.
 SERV. SULPI-
 CIUS RUFUS,
 M. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS.

“ my

A. Urb. 702. " my pains for yours deserved, I free you from
Cic. 56. " that trouble ;
Coff.

SERV. SULPI-
CIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS.

" *For I have friends enough to serve and love*
" *Both me and mine, and above all Great Jove.*

Il. i. 174.

" but if you are naturally querulous, you shall
" not still hinder my good offices and wishes for
" you : all that you will do, is to make me less
" solicitous how you take them. I have writ-
" ten this with more than my usual freedom,
" from the consciousness of my duty and affec-
" tion, which being contracted by choice and
" judgement, it will be in your power to preserve,
" as long as you think proper. Adieu [k]."

CICERO'S Letters to Appius make one book of *his familiar Epistles*, the greatest part of which are of the expostulatory kind, on the subject of their mutual jealousies and complaints: in this slippery state of their friendship, an accident happened at Rome, which had like to have put an end to it. His daughter Tullia, after parting from her second husband Crassipes, as it is probably thought, *by divorce* [l], was married in her father's absence to a third, P. Cornelius Dolabella : several parties had been offered to her, and among them Ti. Claudius Nero, who afterwards married Livia, whom Augustus took away from him : *Nero made his proposals to Cicero in Cilicia*, who referred him to the women, to whom he had left the

[k] Ep. fam. 3. 7.

[l] What confirms this notion is, that Crassipes appears to have been alive at this time, and under Cicero's displeasure : who mentions

him as the only Senator, besides Hirrus, to whom he did not think fit to write about the affair of his *Supplication*.
Ad Att. 7. 1.

management

management of that affair; but before those overtures reached them, they had made up the match with Dolabella, *being mightily taken with his complaisant and obsequious address* [m]. He was a nobleman of *Patrician descent, and of great parts and politeness*; but of a violent, daring, ambitious temper, warmly attached to Cæsar; and by a life of pleasure and expence, which the prudence of Tullia, it was hoped, would correct, greatly distressed in his fortunes; which made Cicero very uneasy, when he came afterwards to know it [n]. Dolabella, at the time of his marriage, for which he made way also *by the divorce of his wife* [o], gave a proof of his enterprising genius, by impeaching Appius Claudius, of *practices against the state, in his government of Cilicia, and of bribery and corruption in his suit for the Consulship*. This put a great difficulty upon Cicero, and made it natural to suspect, that he privately favored the impeachment, where *the Accuser was his son-in-law*: but in clearing himself of it to Appius, though he dissembled a little

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coss.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

[m] Ego dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno, subito sum factus accusatoris ejus focer — sed crede mihi nihil minus putaram ego, qui de Ti. Nerone, qui mecum egerat, certos homines ad mulieres miseram, qui Romam venerunt factis sponsalibus. Sed hoc spero melius. Mulieres quidem valde intelligo delectari obsequio & comitate adolescentis.—ad Att. 6. 6.

[n] Gener est suavis— quantumvis vel ingenii, vel humanitatis; satis. Reliqua

quæ nosti ferenda. Ad Att. 7. 3.

Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam amari. Nam ea quæ speras Tulliæ mea prudentia posse temperari, scio cui tuæ epistolæ respondeant. Ep. fam. 2. 15. it. 8. 13.

Hac oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum fore ab iis molestiis, quas libertate sua contraxerat, liberum—ib. 16.

[o] Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter postulationem, & nominis delationem uxor a Dolabella discessit—ib. 8. 6.

A. Urb. 702. perhaps in disclaiming any part or knowledge of
 Cic. 56. that match, yet he was very sincere, in pro-
 Coss. fessing himself an utter stranger to the impeach-
 SERV. SULPI- ment, and was in truth greatly disturbed at it.
 CIUS RUFUS, But as from the circumstance of his succeeding to
 M. CLAU- Appius in his Government, he was of all men
 DIUS MAR- the most capable of serving or hurting him at the
 CELLUS. trial; so Pompey, who took great pains to screen
 Appius, was extremely desirous to engage him
 on their side, *and had thoughts of sending one of
 his sons to him for that purpose*: but Cicero saved
 them that trouble, by declaring early and openly
 for Appius, and promising every thing from the
 Province that could possibly be of service to him;
 which he thought himself obliged to do the
 more forwardly, *to prevent any suspicion of trea-
 chery to his friend, on the account of his new alli-
 ance* [p]: so that Appius, instead of declining
 a trial, contrived to bring it on as soon as he
 could; and with that view, having dropt his
 pretensions to a Triumph, entered the City, and
 offered himself to his Judges, before his Accuser
 was prepared for him, and was acquitted without
 any difficulty of both the indictments.

IN a little time after his trial he was chosen
Censor, together with Piso, *Cæsar's father-in-law*,
 the last who bore that office during the freedom
 of the Republic. *Clodius's law*, mentioned a-

[p] Pompeius dicitur valde
 pro Appio laborare, ut eti-
 am putent alterutrum de filiis
 ad te missurum. Ibid.—

Post hoc negotium autem
 & temeritatem nostri Dol-
 bellæ, deprecatores me pro
 illius periculo præbeo—ib. 2.

13.

Tamen hac mihi affinitate

nunciata, non majore equi-
 dem studio, sed acrius, aper-
 tius, significantius dignitatem
 tuam defendissem — nam ut
 vetus nostra simultas antea
 stimulabat me, ut caverem
 ne cui suspicionem fide re-
 conciliatæ gratiæ darem: sic
 affinitas novam curam affert
 cavendi. Ib. 3. 12.

bove.

bove, which had greatly restrained the power of these Magistrates, was repealed the last year by Scipio, the Consul, and their ancient authority restored to them [q], which was now exercised with great rigor by Appius: who though really a libertin, and remarkable for indulging himself in all the luxury of life, yet by an affectation of severity, hoped to retrieve his character, and pass for an admirer of that ancient discipline, for which many of his ancestors had been celebrated. Cælius gives a pleasant account of him to Cicero; “Do you know, says he, that the Censor Appius is doing wonders amongst us, about statues and pictures, the number of our acres, and the payment of debts? he takes the Censorship for soap or nitre, and thinks to scour himself clean with it; but he is mistaken; for while he is laboring to wash out his stains, he opens his very veins and bowels, and lets us see him the more intimately: run away to us by all the Gods, to laugh at these things: Drusus sits Judge upon Adultery, by the Scantinian law: Appius on statues and pictures [r].” But this vain and unseasonable attempt of reformation, instead of doing any good, served onely to alienate people from Pompey’s cause, with whom Appius was strictly allied: whilst his colleague Piso, who foresaw that effect, chose to sit still, and suffer him to disgrace

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

[q] Dio, p. 147.

[r] Scis Appium Censorem hic offenta facere? de signis & tabulis, de agri modo, & ære alieno accerrime agere? persuasum est ei, Censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur.

Nam fordes eluere vult, venas sibi omnes & viscera aperit. Curre per Deos, & quam primum hæc risum veni. Legis Scantiniae iudicium apud Drusum fieri. Appium de tabulis & signis agere.—Ep. fam. 8. 14.

A. Urb. 702. *the Knights and Senators at pleasure*, which he did
 Cic. 56. with great freedom, and among others, turned
 Coss. Sallust, *the Historian, out of the Senate*, and was
 SERV. SULP- hardly restrained from putting the same affront
 CIUS RUFUS, upon Curio, which added still more friends and
 M. CLAU- strength to Cæsar [s].
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS.

As to the public news of the year, the grand affair, that engaged all people's thoughts, was the expectation of a breach between Cæsar and Pompey, which seemed now unavoidable, and in which all men were beginning to take part, and ranging themselves on the one side or the other. On Pompey's, there was *a great majority of the Senate and the Magistrates, with the better sort of all ranks: on Cæsar's, all the criminal and obnoxious, all who had suffered punishment, or deserved it; the greatest part of the youth, and the City mob; some of the popular Tribuns, and all who were oppressed with debts; who had a Leader fit for their purpose, daring, and well provided, and wanting nothing but a cause.* This is Cicero's account; and Cælius's is much the same: *I see, says he, that Pompey will have the Senate, and all who judge of things; Cæsar, all who live in fear and uneasiness; but there is no comparison between their armies [t].* Cæsar had put an end to the Gallic war, and reduced the whole Province to the Roman yoke: but

[s] Dio. l. 40. p. 150.

[t] Hoc video, cum homine audacissimo, paratissimoque negotium esse: omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia affectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere. Omnem fere juventutem, omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem; Tribunos valentes — omnes, qui are alieno premantur —

causam solam illa causa non habet, cæteris rebus abundat — ad Att. 7. 3.

In hac discordia video, Cn. Pompeium senatum, quique res judicant, secum habiturum: ad Cæsarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant ad Cæsarem accessuros. Exercitum conferendum non esse. Ep. fam. 8. 14.

though

though his commission was near expiring, he seemed to have no thoughts of giving it up, and returning to the condition of a private subject: he pretended, *that he could not possibly be safe, if he parted with his army*, especially, while Pompey held the Province of Spain, prolonged to him for five years [u]. The Senate, in the mean while, in order to make him easy, had consented to let him take the Consulship, without coming to sue for it in person: but when that did not satisfy him, the Consul, M. Marcellus, one of his fiercest enemies, moved them to abrogate his Command directly, and appoint him a successor; and since the war was at an end, to oblige him to disband his troops, and to come likewise in person to sue for the Consulship, nor to allow the freedom of the City to his Colonies beyond the Po: this related particularly to a favorite Colony, which Cæsar, when Consul, had settled at Comum, at the foot of the Alps, with the freedom of the City granted to it by the Vatinian law [x]. All the other Colonies on that side of the Po had before obtained from Pompey's father the rights of Latium, that is, the freedom of Rome to those who had born an annual Magistracy in them: but M. Marcellus, out of a singular enmity to Cæsar, would allow no such right to his Colony of Comum; and having caught a certain Comensian Magistrate, who was acting the Citizen at Rome, he ordered him to be seized, and publicly whipt; an indignity, from which all Citizens were exempted by law; bidding the man go and shew these marks of his Citizenship to Cæ-

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPI-
CIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS.

[u] Cæsari autem persuasum est, se salvum esse non posse, si ab exercitu recesserit. Fert illam tamen conditionem, ut ambo exercitus tradant. Ibid.

[x] Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 28. Strabo, l. 5. 326.

A. Urb. 702. *far* [y]. Cicero condemns this act as violent and unjust; Marcellus, says he, *behaved shamefully in the case of the Comensian: for if the man had never been a Magistrate, he was yet of a colony beyond the Po, so that Pompey will not be less shock'd at it than Cæsar himself* [z].

Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THE other Consul, Serv. Sulpicius, was of a more candid and moderate temper; and being unwilling to give such a handle for a civil war, opposed and over-ruled the motions of his Colleague, by the help of some of the Tribuns: nor was Pompey himself disposed to procede so violently, or to break with Cæsar on that foot; but thought it more plausible to let his term run out, and his command expire of itself, and so throw upon him the odium of turning his arms against his Country, if he should resolve to act against the Senate and the laws. This counsil prevailed after many warm contestations, in which the summer was chiefly spent, and a decree was offered on the last of September, "That the Consuls elect, L. Paullus and C. Marcellus should move the Senate on the first of march, to settle the Consular Provinces; and if any Magistrate should interpose, to hinder the effect of their decrees, that he should be deemed an enemy to the Republic; and if any one actually interposed, that this vote and resolution should be entered into the journals, to be considered some other time by the Senate, and laid also before the people." But four of the Tribuns gave their joint negative to this decree, C. Cælius, L. Vinicius, P. Cornelius, and C. Vi-

[y] Appian, 2. 443.

[z] Marcellus scæde de Comenti: etsi ille Magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen trans-

padanus. Ita mihi videtur non minus stomachi nostro, ac Cæsari movisse. Ad Att. 5. 11.

bius

bius Panfa. In the course of these debates, Pompey, who affected great moderation in whatever he said of Cæsar, was teized and urged on all sides to make an explicit declaration of his sentiments. When he called it unjust to determine any thing about Cæsar's Government, *before the first of march*, the term prescribed to it by law, being asked, "What, if any one should then put a negative upon them, *he said*, there was no difference whether Cæsar refused to obey the decrees of the Senate, or provided men to obstruct them: What, *says another*, if he should insist on being Consul, and holding his Province too? What, *replied Pompey*, if my son should take a stick and cudgel me [a]?" intimating the one to be as incredible, and as impious also as the other.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

CICERO's friend Cælius obtained the *Ædileship* this Summer from his Competitor Hirrus, the same who had opposed Cicero in the Augurate, and whose disappointment gave occasion to many jokes between them in their Letters [b]. In this magistracy, it being customary to procure wild beasts of all kinds from different parts of the Empire for the entertainment of the City, Cælius begged of Cicero to supply him with Panthers from Cilicia, and to employ the Cibarites, a people of his Province famed for hunting, to catch them: for it would be a reflection upon you, says he, when Curio had ten Panthers from that Country, not to

[a] Cum interrogaretur, si quitum intercederent: dixit hoc nihil interesse, utrum C. Cæsar Senatui dicto audiens futurus non esset, an pararet, qui Senatum decernere non pateretur. Quid si, inquit alius, & Consul esse & exercitum habere volet? at ille quam clementer. Quid si filius meus fustem mihi impingere volet? Ep. fam. 8. 8.

[b] Ep. fam. 2. 9, 10. it. 8. 2, 3, 9.

A. Urb. 702. *let me have many more.* He recommends to him
 Cic. 56. at the same time M. Feridius, a Roman Knight,
 Coss. who had an Estate in Cilicia, charged with some
 SERV. SULPI- services or quit-rent to the neighbouring Cities,
 CIUS RUFUS, which he begs of him *to get discharged so as to*
 M. CLAU- *make the lands free [c]*: he seems also to have de-
 DIUS MAR- sired Cicero's consent to his levying certain con-
 CELLUS. tributions upon the Cities of his Province, *to-*
wards defraying the expence of his shows at Rome;
 a prerogative, which the Ædiles always claimed,
 and sometimes practised; though it was denied
 to them by some Governors, and particularly by
 Quintus Cicero in Asia, upon the advice of his
 Brother [d]: in answer to all which, Cicero re-
 plied, "that he was sorry to find that his actions
 " were so much in the dark, that it was not yet
 " known at Rome, that not a farthing had been
 " exacted in his Province, except for the pay-
 " ment of just debts: that it was neither fit for
 " him to extort money, nor for Cælius to take
 " it, if it were designed for himself: and admo-
 " nished him, who had undertaken the part of
 " accusing others, to live himself with more cau-
 " tion—and as to Panthers, that it was not con-
 " sistent with his character to impose the charge
 " of hunting them upon the poor people [e]."

[c] Fere litteris omnibus
 tibi de Pantheris scripsi. Tur-
 pe tibi erit, Patiscum Curio-
 ni decem Pantheras misisse,
 te non multis partibus plures,
 &c. Ep. fam. 8, 9.

M. Feridium — tibi com-
 mendo. Agros quos fructu-
 arios habent civitates, vult
 tuo beneficio, quod tibi faci-
 le & honestum factum est, im-
 munes esse—ib.

[d] Ad Quint. Frat. 1. 1.
 §. 9.

[e] Rescripsi, me moleste
 ferre, si ego in tenebris late-
 rem, nec audiretur Romæ,
 nullum in mea provincia num-
 mum nisi in æs alienum ero-
 gari; docuique nec mihi con-
 ciliare pecuniam licere, nec
 illi capere; monuique eum,
 &c. ad Att. 6. 1.

But

But though he would not break his rules for the sake of his friend, yet he took care to provide *Panthers* for him at his own expence, and says pleasantly upon it, *that the Beasts made a sad complaint against him, and resolved to quit the country, since no snares were laid in his Province for any other Creature but themselves* [f].

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

CURIO likewise obtained the *Tribunate* this Summer, which he sought with no other design, as many imagined, than for the opportunity of mortifying Cæsar, against whom he had hitherto acted with great fierceness [g]. But Cicero, who knew from the temper and views of them both, how easy it would be to make up matters between them, took occasion to write a congratulatory Letter to him upon this advancement, in which he exhorts him with great gravity, “to consider into what a dangerous crisis his *Tribunate* had fallen, not by chance, but his own choice; what violence of the times, what variety of dangers hung over the Republic, how uncertain the events of things were, how changeable mens minds, how much treachery and falshood in human life—he begs of him therefore to beware of entering into any new counsils, but to pursue and defend, what he himself thought right, and not suffer himself to be drawn away by the advice of others”—referring without doubt to M. Antony, the chief companion and corrupter of his youth: in the conclusion, he conjures him, to “employ his present

[f] De Pantheris, per eos, qui venari solent, agitur mandato meo diligenter: sed mira paucitas est: & eas, quæ sunt, valde aiunt queri quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea provincia nisi sibi fiat.

—Ep. fam. 2. 11.

[g] Sed ut spero & volo, & ut se fert ipse Curio, bonos & senatum malet. Totus ut nunc est, hoc scaturit. —ib. 8. 4.

“power

“ power to hinder his Provincial trouble from
 “ being prolonged by any new act of the Se-
 “ nate”—[*b*] Cicero’s suspicions were soon con-
 firmed by Letters from Rome; whence Cælius
 sent him word of Curio’s *changing sides, and de-*
claring himself for Cæsar: in answer to which,
 Cicero says, *the last page of your Letter in your*
own hand really touched me. What do you say? is
Curio turned advocate for Cæsar? who would have
thought it besides myself? for let me die, if I did
not expect it! Good Gods, how much do I long to be
laughing with you at Rome [*i*] ?

A. Urb. 703. THE new Consuls being Cicero’s particular
 Cic. 57. friends, he wrote congratulatory Letters to them
 Coff. both upon their election, in which he begged *the*
 L. ÆMILIUS concurrence of their authority to the decree of his
 PAULLUS, *supplication*; and what he had more at heart, *that*
 C. CLAUDIUS *they would not suffer any prolongation of his annual*
 MARCELLUS. *term*; in which they readily obliged him, and
 received his thanks also by letter for that favor [*k*].
 It was expected, that something decisive would
 now be done in relation to *the Two Gauls*, and
 the appointment of a *successor to Cæsar*, since
 both the Consuls were supposed to be his enemies:
 but all attempts of that kind were still frustrated
 by the intrigues of Cæsar; for when C. Marcellus
 began to renew the same motion, which his kins-
 man had made the year before, he was obstruct-
 ed by *his Colleague Paullus, and the Tribun Curio*,
 whom Cæsar had privately gained by immense bribes,
 to suffer nothing prejudicial to his interest to pass
 during their Magistracy [*l*]. He is said to have

[*b*] Ep. fam. 2. 7.

[*i*] Extrema pagella pupu-
 git me tuo chirographo.
 Quid ais? Cæsarem nunc de-
 fendit Curio? quis hoc puta-

ret præter me? nam ita vi-
 vam, putavi—ib. 13.

[*k*] Ep. fam. 15. 7, 10,
 11, 12, 13.

[*l*] Sueton. J. Cæs. 29.

given Paullus about three hundred thousand pounds, A. Urb. 703.
and to Curio much more [m]. The first wanted it to Cic. 57.
defray the charges of those splendid buildings, L. ÆMILIUS
which he had undertaken to raise at his own cost: PAULLUS,
the second, to clear himself of the load of his C. CLAUDIUS
debts, which amounted to about half a million [n]: MARCELLUS.
for he had wasted his great fortunes so effectually
in a few years, that he had no other revenue left,
as Pliny says, but in the hopes of a civil war [o].
These facts are mentioned by all the Roman
writers;

*Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus spoliis & Cæsaris auro—*

Lucan. 4. 819.

*Caught by the spoils of Gaul, and Cæsar's gold,
Curio turn'd traitor, and his country sold.*

and Servius applies that passage of Virgil, *Vendit hic auro patriam*, to the case of Curio's selling Rome to Cæsar.

CICERO in the mean time was expecting with impatience the expiration of his annual term, but before he could quit the Province, he was obliged to see the account of all the money, which had passed through his own or his officers hands, stated and balanced; and three fair copies provided, two to be deposited in two of the principal Cities of his Jurisdiction, and a third in the Treasury at Rome. That his whole administration therefore might be of a piece, he was very exact and punctual in acquitting himself of this duty, and would not indulge his officers in the use of any

[m] Appian. l. ii. p. 443. buerit, præter discordiam

[n] Sexcenties Sestertium principum. Plin. Hist. l. 36.
æris alieni. Val. Max. 9. 1. 15.

[o] Qui nihil in censu ha-

- A. Urb. 703 *public money* beyond the legal time, or above the
 Cic. 57. summ prescribed by law, as appears from his
 Coss. Letters to some of them who desired it [*p*]. Out
 L. ÆMILIUS of the annual revenue, which was decreed to
 PAULLUS, him for the use of the Province, *he remitted to*
 C. CLAUDIUS *the Treasury all that he had not expended, to the*
 MARCELLUS. *amount of above eight hundred thousand pounds.*
 “ This, says he, makes my whole company
 “ groan; they imagine that it should have
 “ been divided among themselves, as if I ought
 “ to have been a better manager for the treasu-
 “ ries of Phrygia and Cilicia, than for our own.
 “ But they did not move me; for my own ho-
 “ nor weighed with me the most: yet I have
 “ not been wanting to do every thing in my
 “ power that is honorable and generous to them
 “ all [*q*].”

HIS last concern was, to what hands he should commit the Government of his Province upon his leaving it, since there was no successor appointed by the Senate on account of the heats among them about the case of Cæsar, which disturbed all their debates, and interrupted all other

[*p*] Laodiceæ me prædes accepturum arbitror omnis publicæ pecuniæ— nihil est, quod in isto genere cuiquam possim commodare, &c. Ep. fam. 2. 17.

Illud quidem certe factum est, quod lex jubebat, ut apud duas civitates, Laodicensem, & Apamaensem, quæ nobis maximæ videbantur — rationes confectas & consolidatas deponeremus, &c. ib. 5. 20.

[*q*] Cum enim rectur & gloriosum putarem ex annuo

sumptu, qui mihi decretus esset. Me C. Cælio Quæstori relinquere annum, referre in ærariam ad H. S. ero, ingemoit nostra cohors, omne illud putans distribui sibi oportere: ut ego amicior invenire Phrygum aut Cilicum ærariis, quam nost'o. Sed me non moverunt; nam mea laus apud me plurimum valet. Nec tamen quicquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit, quod prætermiserim. ad Att. 7. 1.

business. He had no opinion of his Quæstor, C. Cælius, a young man of noble birth, but of no great virtue or prudence; and was afraid after his glorious administration, that by placing so great a trust in one of his character, he should expose himself to some censure. But he had no body about him of *superior rank*, who was willing to accept it, and did not care to force it upon his Brother, lest that might give a handle to *suspect him of some interest or partiality in the choice* [r]. He dropt the province therefore, after some deliberation, into Cælius's hands, and set forward immediately upon his journey towards Italy.

BUT before he quitted Asia, he begged of Atticus by Letter to send him a particular detail of all the news of the City—“There are odious reports,” says he, about Curio and Paullus; not that I see any danger, while Pompey stands, or I may say indeed, while he sits, if he has but his health; but in truth, I am sorry for my friends Curio and Paullus. If you are now therefore at Rome, or as soon as you come thither, I would have you send me a plan of the whole Republic, which may meet me on the road, that I may form myself upon it, and resolve what temper to assume on my coming to the City: for it is some advantage not to come thither a mere stranger [s].” We see what

[r] Ego de provincia decedens Quæstorem Cælium præposui provinciæ Puerum? inquires. At Quæstorem; at nobilem adolescentem; at omnium fere exemplo. Neque erat superiore honore usus, quem præficerem. Pontinius multo ante discefferat.

A Quinto fratre impetrari non poterat: quem tamen si reliquisssem, dicerent iniqui, non me plane post annum, ut Senatus voluisset, de provincia decessisse, quoniam alteram me reliquisssem. Ep. fam. 2. 15. vit. it. ad Att. 6. 5, 6.

[s] Huc odiosa afferebantur

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULLUS,
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.

A. Urb. 703. what a confidence he placed in Pompey, on
 Cic. 57. whom indeed their whole prospect either of peace
 Coss. with Cæsar, or of success against him, depended :
 L. ÆMILIUS as to the intimation about his health, it is expres-
 PAULLUS, sed more strongly in another Letter ; *All our*
 C. CLAUDIUS hopes, says he, *hang upon the life of one man, who*
 MARCELLUS. *is attacked every year by a dangerous fit of sick-*
ness [t]. His constitution seems to have been pe-
 culiarly subject to fevers ; the frequent returns of
 which, in the present situation of affairs, gave
 great apprehension to all his party : in one of
 those fevers, which threatened his life for many
 days successively, *all the Towns of Italy put up*
public prayers for his safety ; an honor, which
 had never been paid before to any man, while
 Rome was free [u].

UPON taking leave of Cilicia, Cicero paid a
 visit to Rhodes, *for the sake*, he says, *of the chil-*
dren [x]. His design was to give them a view
 of that flourishing Isle, and a little exercise per-
 haps in that celebrated School of eloquence,
 where he himself had studied with so much suc-
 cess under Molo. Here he received *the news of*
Hortensius's death [y], which greatly affected him,

tur de Curione, de Paullo :
 non quo ullum periculum vi-
 deam stante Pompeio, vel et-
 tiam sedente, valeat modo.
 Sed mehercule Curionis &
 Paulli meorum familiarium
 vicem doleo. Formam igitur
 mihi totius Reip. si jam es
 Romæ, aut cum eris, velim
 mittas, quæ mihi obviam ve-
 niat. Ex qua me fingere pos-
 sum, &c. ad Att. 6. 3.

[t] In unius hominis, quot-
 annis periculose ægrotantis,
 anima, positas omnes nostras

spes habemus—— ibid. 8. 2.

[u] Quo quidem tempore
 universa Italia vota pro salu-
 te ejus, primo omnium civi-
 um, suscepit—— Vell. Pat.
 2. 48. Dio, p. 155.

[x] Rhodum volo puero-
 rum causa. Ad Att. 6. 7.

[y] Cum e Cilicia dece-
 dens Rhodum venissem, &
 eo mihi de Q. Hortensii mor-
 te esset allatum ; opinione
 omnium majorem animo cepi
 dolorem—— Brut. init.

by recalling to his mind the many glorious struggles that they had sustained together at the Bar, in their competition for the prize of eloquence. Hortensius reigned absolute in the Forum, when Cicero first entered it; and as his superior fame was the chief spur to Cicero's industry, so the shining specimen, which Cicero soon gave of himself, made Hortensius likewise the brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground against his young Rival. They passed a great part of their lives in a kind of equal contest and emulation of each other's merit: but Hortensius, by the superiority of his years, having first passed through the usual gradation of public honors, and satisfied his ambition by obtaining the highest, *began to relax somewhat of his old contention, and give way to the charms of ease and luxury*, to which his nature strongly inclined him [z], till he was forced at last, by the general voice of the City, to yield the post of honor to Cicero; who never lost sight of the true point of glory, nor was ever diverted by any temptation of pleasure from his steady course and laborious pursuit of virtue. Hortensius published several orations which were extant long after his death; and it were much to be wished, that they had remained to this day, to enable us to form a judgment of the different talents of these two great men: but they are said to have owed a great part of their credit to the advantage of his action, which yet was thought *to have more of art than was necessary to an Orator*, so that his compositions *were not admired so much by the*

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULLUS,
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.

[z] Nam is post Consulatum—summum illud suum studium remisit, quo a puero fuerat incensus; atque in omnium rerum abundantia voluit beatius, ut ipse putabat, remissius certe vivere. Brut. p. 443.

Reader

A. Urb. 703. *Reader as they had been by the Hearer [a]*; while
 Cic. 57. Cicero's more valued productions made all others
 Coss. of that kind less sought for, and consequently
 L. ÆMILIUS the less carefully preserved. Hortensius however
 PAULLUS, was generally allowed by the Ancients, and by
 C. CLAUDIUS Cicero himself, to have possessed every accom-
 MARCELLUS. plishment, which could adorn an Orator; *ele-
 gance of stile; art of composition; fertility of inven-
 tion; sweetness of elocution; gracefulness of action [b]*. These two Rivals lived however always
 with great civility and respect towards each other,
 and were usually in the same way of thinking and
 acting in the affairs of the Republic; till Cicero,
 in the case of his exile, discovered the plain marks
 of a lurking envy and infidelity in Hortensius:
 yet his resentment carried him no farther than to
 some free complaints of it to their common friend
 Atticus, who made it his business to mitigate this
 disgust, and hinder it from proceeding to an open
 breach; so that Cicero, being naturally placable,
 lived again with him after his return on the same
 easy terms as before, and lamented his death at
 this time with great tenderness, not only as the
 private loss of a friend, but a public misfortune
 to his Country, in being deprived of the service
 and authority of *so experienced a statesman* at so
 critical a conjuncture [c].

FROM

[a] Motus & gestus etiam plus artis habebat, quam erat Oratori satis. Brut. 425. dicebat melius quam scripsit Hortensius. Orator. p. 261.

Ejus scripta tantum intra famam sunt, qui diu princeps Oratorum — existimatus est, novissime quoad vixit, secundus; ut appareat placuisse aliquid eo dicente, quod le-

gentes non invenimus — Quint. xi. 3.

[b] Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus: — nec pratermittebat fere quicquam, quod erat in causa — vox canora & suavis — Brut. 425

[c] Nam & amico amisso cum consuetudine jucundum

FROM Rhodes he passed on to Ephesus, whence he set sail on the first of *October*, and after a tedious passage landed at Athens on the fourteenth [d]. Here he lodged again in his old quarters, at the house of his friend Aristus. His Predecessor, Appius, who passed also through Athens on his return, had ordered a *new Portico or Vestibule to be built at his cost to the Temple of the Eleusinian Ceres*; which suggested a thought likewise to Cicero of adding some ornament of the same kind *to the Academy*, as a public monument of his name, as well as of his affection for the place: *for he hated*, he says, *those false inscriptions of other people's statues* [e], with which the Greeks used to flatter their new Masters, by effacing the old titles, and inscribing them anew to the great men of Rome. He acquainted Atticus with his design, and desired his opinion upon it: but in all probability, it was never executed, since his stay at Athens was now very short, and his thoughts wholly bent on Italy: for as all his Letters confirmed to him *the certainty of a war*, in which he must necessarily bear a part, so he was impatient to be at home, that he might have the clearer view of the state of affairs, and take

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULLUS,
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.

tum multorum officiorum conjunctione me privatum videbam — augebat etiam molestiam, quod magna sapientium civium bonorumque penuria, vir egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum consiliorum omnium societate alienissimo Reipub. tempore extinctus — Brut. init.

[d] Prid. Id. Octob. Athenas venimus, cum sane ad-

versis ventis usi essemus — Ep. fam. 14. 5.

[e] Audio Appium προτάλαιον, Eleusine facere. Num inepti fuerimus, si nos quoque Academiæ fecerimus? — equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo. Volo esse aliquod monumentum. Odi falsas inscriptiones alienarum Statuarum. Sed ut tibi placebit. — Ad Att. 6. 1.

A. Urb. 703. his measures with the greater deliberation [*f*].
 Cic. 57. Yet he was not still without hopes of peace, and
 Coss. that he should be able to make up the quarrel be-
 L. ÆMILIUS tween the chiefs; for he was, of all men, the best
 PAULLUS, qualified to effect it, on account not onely of his
 C. CLAUDIUS authority, but of his intimate friendship with
 MARCELLUS. them both; who severally *paid great court to him at this time, and reckoned upon him as their own, and wrote to him with a confidence of his being a determined friend* [*g*].

IN his voyage from Athens towards Italy, Tiro, one of his slaves, whom he soon after made free, happened to fall sick, and was left behind at Patræ to the care of friends and a Physician. The mention of such an accident will seem trifling to those who are not acquainted with the character and excellent qualities of Tiro, and how much we are indebted to him for preserving and transmitting to posterity the precious collection of Cicero's Letters, of which a great part still remain, and one intire book of them written to Tiro himself; several of which relate to the subject of *this very illness*. Tiro was trained up in Cicero's family, among the rest of his young slaves, in every

[*f*] Cognovi ex multorum amicorum literis — ad arma rem spectare. Ut mihi cum venero, dissimulare non liceat, quid sentiam. Sed quum subeunda fortuna est, eo citius dabimus operam ut veniamus, quo facilius de tota re deliberemus. — Ep. fam. 14. 5.

Sive enim ad concordiam res adduci potest, sive ad bonorum victoriam, utriusve rei me aut adiutorem esse velim, aut certe non expertem

—Ad Att. 7. 3.

[*g*] Ipsum tamen Pompeium separatim ad concordiam hortabor. Ib.

Me autem uterque numerat suum. Nisi forte simulat alter. Nam Pompeius non dubitat (vere enim judicat) ea, quæ de Repub. nunc sentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriusque autem accepi literas ejusmodi — ut neuter quemquam omnium pluris facere quam me videretur. Ib. 7. 1.

kind

kind of usefull and polite learning, and being a youth of singular parts and industry, soon became an eminent Scholar, and extremely serviceable to his master in all his affairs both civil and domestic. "As for Tiro, says he to Atticus, I see you have a Concern for him: though he is wonderfully usefull to me, when he is well, in every kind both of my business and studies, yet I wish his health more, for his own humanity and modesty, than for any service which I reap from him [b]." But his Letter to Tiro himself will best shew what an affectionate master he was: for from the time of leaving him, he never failed writing to him by every messenger or ship which passed that way, though it were twice or thrice a day, and often sent one of his servants express to bring an account of his health: the first of these Letters will give us a notion of the rest.

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULLUS,
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.

M. T. Cicero to Tiro.

"I thought that I should have been able to bear the want of you more easily; but in truth I cannot bear it; and though it is of great importance to my expected honor, to be at Rome as soon as possible, yet I seem to have committed a sin when I left you. But since you were utterly against proceeding in the voyage till your health was confirmed, I approved your resolution; nor do I now think otherwise, if you continue in the same mind. But after you have begun to take meat again, if you think

[b] De Tirone video tibi curæ esse. Quem quidem ego, & si mirabiles utilitates mihi præbet, cum valet, in omni genere vel negotiorum

vel studiorum meorum, tamen propter humanitatem & modestiam malo saluum, quam propter usum meum. Ad Att. 7. 5.

Q 2

"that

A. Urb. 703. “ that you shall be able to overtake me, that is
 Cic. 57. “ left to your consideration. I have sent Mario
 Coss. “ to you with instructions, either to come with
 L. ÆMILIUS “ you to me as soon as you can, or if you should
 PAULLUS, “ stay longer, to return instantly without you.
 C. CLAUDIUS “ Affure yourself however of this, that, as far
 MARCELLUS. “ as it can be convenient to your health, I wish
 “ nothing more than to have you with me ; but
 “ if it be necessary for the perfecting your reco-
 “ very, to stay a while longer at Patræ ; that I
 “ wish nothing more than to have you well. If
 “ you sail immediately, you will overtake me at
 “ Leucas : but if you stay to establish your health,
 “ take care to have good company, good wea-
 “ ther, and a good vessel. Observe this one
 “ thing, my Tiro, if you love me, that neither
 “ Mario’s coming, nor this Letter hurry you.
 “ By doing what is most conducive to your health,
 “ you will do what is most agreeable to me : weigh
 “ all these things by your own discretion. I want
 “ you ; yet so as to love you ; my love makes
 “ me wish to see you well ; my want of you,
 “ to see you as soon as possible : the first is the
 “ better ; take care therefore, above all things,
 “ to get well again : of all your innumerable ser-
 “ vices to me, that will be the most acceptable.
 “ —the third of November [i].”

By the honor, that he mentions in the Letter, he means *the honor of a Triumph*, which his friends encouraged him to demand for his success at Amanus and Pindenissum : in writing upon it to Atticus, he says, “ consider what you would advise me with regard to a Triumph to which my friends invite me : for my part, if Bibulus, who, while there was a Parthian in Syria, ne-

“ ver ſet a foot out of the gates of Antioch, A. Urb. 703.
 “ any more than he did upon a certain occaſion Cic. 57.
 “ out of his own houſe, had not ſollicitated a Coſſ.
 “ Triumph, I ſhould have been quiet; but now L. ÆMILIUS
 “ it is a ſhame to ſit ſtill [k].” Again, “ as to a PAULLUS,
 “ Triumph, I had no thoughts of it before Bi. C. CLAUDIUS
 “ bulus’s moſt impudent Letters, by which he MARCELLUS.
 “ obtained an honorable ſupplication. If he had
 “ really done all that he has written, I ſhould
 “ rejoice at it, and wiſh well to his ſuit; but for
 “ him, who never ſtirred beyond the walls,
 “ while there was an enemy on this ſide the Eu-
 “ phrates, to have ſuch an honor decreed; and
 “ for me, whoſe army inſpired all their hopes
 “ and ſpirits into his, not to obtain the ſame,
 “ will be a diſgrace to us; I ſay to us; joining
 “ you to myſelf: wherefore I am determined to
 “ puſh at all, and hope to obtain all [l].”

AFTER the contemptible account, which Ci-
 cero gives of Bibulus’s conduct in Syria, it muſt
 appear ſtrange to ſee him honored with a ſuppli-
 cation, and aſpiring even to a Triumph: but this
 was not for any thing that he himſelf had done,
 but for what his Lieutenant Caſſius had perform-
 ed in his abſence againſt the Parthians; the ſuc-
 ceſs of the Lieutenants being aſcribed always to
 the auſpices of the General, who reaped the re-
 ward and glory of it: and as the Parthians were

[k] Ad Att. 6. 8.

[l] De Triumpho, nulla
 me cupiditas unquam tenuit
 ante Bibuli impudentiſſimas
 litteras, quas ampliſſima ſup-
 plicatio conſecuta eſt. A quo
 ſi ea geſta ſunt, quæ ſcripſit,
 gauderem & honori faverem.
 Nunc illum, qui pedem por-
 ta, quoad hoſtis cis Euphra-

tem fuit, non extulerit, ho-
 nore augeri, me, in cujus ex-
 ercitu ſpem illius exercitus
 habuit, idem non aſſequi, de-
 decus eſt noſtrum; noſtrum,
 inquam, te conjungens. Ita-
 que omnia experiar, &, ut
 ſpero, aſſequar.— Ad Att.
 7. 2.

A. Urb. 703. the most dangerous enemies of the Republic, and
 Cic. 57. the more particularly dreaded at this time for their
 late defeat of Crassus, so any advantage gained
 against them was sure to be well received at Rome,
 and repaid with all the honors that could reason-
 ably be demanded.

WHENEVER any proconsul returned from his Province with pretensions to a *Triumph*, his *Fasces*, or *Ensigns of Magistracy*, were wreathed with laurel: with this equipage Cicero landed at Brundisium on the twenty-fifth of November, where his wife Terentia arrived at the same moment to meet him, so that their first salutation was in the great square of the City. From Brundisium he marched forward by slow stages towards Rome, making it his business on the road to confer with all his friends of both parties, who came out to salute him; and to learn their sentiments on the present state of affairs; from which he soon perceived, what of all things he most dreaded, an universal disposition to war. But as he foresaw the consequences of it more coolly and clearly than any of them, so his first resolution was to apply all his endeavours and authority to the mediation of a peace. He had not yet declared for either side, not that he was irresolute which of them to chuse, for he was determined within himself to follow Pompey; but the difficulty was, how to hold in the mean time towards Cæsar, so as to avoid taking part in the previous decrees, which were prepared against him, for abrogating his command, and obliging him to disband his forces on pain of being declared an enemy: here he wished to stand neuter a while, that he might act the mediator with the better grace and effect [m].

IN

[m] Brundisium venimus vii Kal. Decemb. — Terentia vero,

IN this disposition he had an interview with A. Urb. 703.
Pompey on *the tenth of December*, of which he Cic. 57.
gives the following Account: "We were toge- Coff.
"ther, *says he*, about two hours. He seemed L. ÆMILIUS
"to be extremely pleased at my return; he ex- PAULLUS,
"horted me to demand a Triumph; promised C. CLAUDIUS
"to do his part in it; advised me not to appear MARCELLUS.
"in the Senate, before I had obtained it, lest I
"should disgust any of the Tribuns by declaring
"my mind: in a word, nothing could be more
"obliging than his whole discourse on this sub-
"ject. But as to public affairs, he talked in
"such a strain as if a war was inevitable, with-
"out giving the least hopes of an accommoda-
"tion. He said, that he had long perceived
"Cæsar to be alienated from him, but had re-
"ceived a very late instance of it; for that
"Hirtius came from Cæsar a few days before,
"and did not come to see him; and when Bal-
"bus promised to bring Scipio an account of
"his business, the next morning before day,
"Hirtius was gone back again to Cæsar in the
"night: this he takes for a clear proof of Cæ-
"sar's resolution to break with him. In short,
"I have no other comfort but in imagining,
"that he, to whom even his enemies have
"voted a second Consulship, and Fortune given
"the greatest power, will not be so mad as to
"put all this to hazard: yet if he begins to

vero, quæ quidem eodem tempore ad portam Brundisiam venit, quo ego in portum, mihiq; obvia in Foro fuit. Ibid.—

Cn. Pompeio assentio—ib. 3.

Nunc incido in discrimen ipsum,—dabunt operam, ut eliciant sententiam meam—tu autem de nostro statu cogitabis; primum quo artificio tueamur benevolentiam Cæsaris—ib. 1.

Mihi *videtur* ~ unum erit, quod a Pompeio gubernabitur—dic. M. Tulli *scilicet*.

A. Urb. 703. "rush on, I see many more things to be appre-
 Cic. 57. "hended than I dare venture to commit to writ-
 Coff. "ing: at present I propose to be at Rome on
 L. ÆMILIUS "the third of January [n]."
 PAULLUS,

C. CLAUDIUS THERE is one little circumstance frequently
 MARCELLUS. touched in Cicero's letters, which gave him a
 particular uneasiness in his present situation, viz.
his owing a sum of money to Cæsar, which he
imagined might draw some reproach upon him,
since he thought it dishonorable and indecent, he
says, to be a debtor to one, against whom we were
acting in public affairs: yet to pay it at that time
would deprive him of a part of the money which
he had reserved for his Triumph [o]. He desires
 Atticus however very earnestly to see it paid,
 which was done without doubt accordingly, since
 we meet with no farther mention of it: it does
 not appear, nor is it easy to guess, for what oc-
 casion this debt was contracted, unless it was to
 supply the extraordinary expence of his buildings
 after his return from exil, when he complained
 of being in a particular want of money from that
 general dissipation of his fortunes.

POMPEY, finding Cicero wholly bent on peace,
 contrived to have a second conference with him
 before he reached the City, in hopes to allay his
 fears, and beat him off from that vain project
 of an accommodation, which might help to cool
 the zeal of his friends in the senate: he over-
 took him therefore at Lavernium, and came on

[n] Ad Att. 7. 4.

[o] Illud tamen non desi-
 nam, dum adeste te putabo,
 de Cæsaris nomine rogare,
 ut confectum relinquas. Ib.

5. 6.

Mihi autem molestissimum

est, quod solvendi sunt num-
 mi Cæsari, & instrumentum
 triumphi eo conferendum.
 Est enim ἀμωρεν, ἀντιπολι-
 τευομένη χρεορμηέτων esse.—
 Ib. 7. 8.

with

with him to Formiæ, where they spent a whole afternoon in a close conversation. Pompey strongly discouraged all thoughts of a pacification, declaring, "that there could be none but what was treacherous and dangerous; and that if Cæsar should disband his army, and take the Consulship, he would throw the republic into confusion: but he was of opinion, that when he understood their preparations against him, he would drop the Consulship, and hold fast his army: but if he was mad enough to come forward and act offensively, he held him in utter contempt from a confidence in his own troops, and those of the Republic. They had got with them the copy of a speech, which Antony, one of the new Tribuns, made to the people four days before: it was a perpetual invective on Pompey's conduct from his first appearance in public, with great complaints against the violent and arbitrary condemnation of Citizens, and the terror of his arms. After reading it over together, what think you, says Pompey, would Cæsar himself do, if in possession of the Republic, when this paultry, beggarly fellow, his Quæstor, dares to talk at this rate? on the whole, Pompey seemed not onely not to desire, but even to dread a peace [*p*]."

CICERO however would not still be driven from the hopes and pursuit of an accommodation; the more he observed the disposition of both parties, the more he perceived the necessity of it: the honest, as they were called, were disunited among themselves: many of them dissatisfied with Pompey; all fierce and violent; and

[*p*] Ib. 7, 8.

denouncing

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILIUS
PAULLUS,
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.

denouncing nothing but ruin to their adversaries; he clearly foresaw, what he declared without scruple to his friends, "that which side soever got the better, the war must necessarily end in a Tyranny; the onely difference was, that if their enemies conquered, they should be proscribed, if their friends, be slaves." Though he had an abhorrence therefore of Cæsar's cause, yet his advice was, to grant him his own terms, rather than try the experiment of arms, "and prefer the most unjust conditions to the justest war: since after they had been arming him against themselves for ten years past, it was too late to think of fighting, when they had made him too strong for them [q]."

A. Urb. 704.

Cic. 58.

Coss.

C. CLAUDIUS

MARCELLUS,

L. CORNELI-

US LENTU-

LUS CRUS.

THIS was the sum of his thoughts and counsils, when he arrived at *Rome on the fourth of January*; where he found the two new Consuls intirely devoted to Pompey's interests. On his approach towards the City great multitudes came out to meet him with all possible demonstrations of honor: *his last stage was from Pompey's villa near Alba, because his own at Tusculum lay out of the great road, and was not commodious for a public entry: on his arrival, as he says, he fell into the very flame of civil discord, and found the war in*

[q] De Repub. quotidie magis timeo. Non enim boni, ut putant, consentiunt. Quos ego Equites Romanos, quos Senatores vidi, qui acerrime tum cætera, tum hoc iter Pompeii vituperarent. Pace opus est, ex victoria cum multa mala, tum certe Tyrannus existet.—Ib. 7. 5.

Ut si victus eris, proscribere; si viceris, tamen ser-

vias. Ib. 7. 7.

Ad pacem hortari non desino, quæ vel injusta utilior est, quam justissimum bellum.

—Ib. 7. 14.

Mallet tantas ei vires non dedisset, quam nunc tam valenti resisterit. Ib. 7. 3.

Nisi forte hæc illi tum arma dedimus, ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus. Ib. 7. 6.

effect proclaimed [r]: for the Senate, at Scipio's motion, had just voted a decree, "that Cæsar should dismiss his army by a certain day, or be declared an enemy; and when M. Antony and Q. Cassius, two of the Tribuns, opposed their negative to it," as they had done to every decree proposed against Cæsar, and could not be persuaded by the intreaties of their friends, to give way to the authority of the Senate, they proceeded to that vote, which was the last resort in cases of extremity, "that the Consuls, Prætors, Tribuns, and all who were about the city with Proconsular power, should take care that the Republic received no detriment." As this was supposed to arm the Magistrates with an absolute power, to treat all men as they pleased, whom they judged to be enemies, so the *Two Tribuns*, together with Curio, immediately *withdrew themselves upon it, and fled in disguise to Cæsar's camp, on pretence of danger and violence to their persons, though none was yet offered or designed to them* [s].

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

M. ANTONY, who now began to make a figure in the affairs of Rome, was of an ancient and noble extraction; the Grandson of that celebrated statesman and orator, who lost his life in the massacres of Marius and Cinna: his Fa-

[r] Ego ad urbem accessi prid. non. Jan. obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil posset fieri ornatus. Sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiæ vel potius belli——
Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

Ego in Tusculanum nihil hoc tempore. Devium est τοῖς ἀπαισῶσι, &c. ad Att. 7. 5.

[s] Antonius quidem nosster & Q. Cassius, nulla vi expulsi, ad Cæsarem cum Curione profecti erant; postea quam senatus Consulibus, Prætoribus, Tribunis plebis & nobis, qui Proconsules fumus, negotium cederat, ut curaremus, ne quid Resp. detrimenti caperet—— Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

ther,

A. Urb. 704. ther, as it is already related, had been honored
 Cic. 58. with one of the most important commissions of
 Coss. the Republic; but after an inglorious discharge
 C. CLAUDIUS of it, died with the character of a corrupt, op-
 MARCELLUS, pressive, and rapacious Commander. The Son,
 L. CORNELI- trained in the discipline of such a Parent, whom
 US LENTU- he lost when he was very young, launched out
 LUS CRUS. at once into all the excess of riot and debauchery, and *wasted his whole patrimony before he had put on the manly gown*; shewing himself to be the genuin Son of that Father, who was born, as Sallust says, *to squander money, without ever employing a thought on business, till a present necessity urged him*. His comely person, lively wit, insinuating address, made young Curio infinitely fond of him; so that, in spite of the commands of a severe Father, who had often turned Antony out of doors, and forbidden him his house, he could not be prevailed with to forsake his company; but supplied him with money for his frolics and amours, till he had involved himself on his account in a debt of *fifty thousand pounds*. This greatly afflicted *old Curio*; and *Cicero was called in to heal the distress of the family*, whom the Son entreated, with tears in his eyes, to intercede for Antony, as well as for himself, and not suffer them to be parted; but Cicero having prevailed with the father to make his son easy, by discharging his debts, advised him to insist upon it as a condition, and to enforce it by his paternal power, that he should have no farther commerce with Antony [t].

This

[t] Teneſne memoria Præ-
 textatum te decoxiſſe? —
 nemo unquam puer emptus
 hominis cauſa tam fuit in

domini poteſtate, quam tu in
 Curionis. Quoties te pater
 ejus domo ſuo ejecit? —
 ſciſne me de rebus mihi no-
 tiſſimis,

This laid the foundation of an early aversion in Antony to Cicero, encreased still by the perpetual course of Antony's life, which fortune happened to throw among Cicero's inveterate enemies: for, by the second marriage of his mother, he became *son-in-law to that Lentulus*, who was put to death for conspiring with Catiline, by whom he was initiated into all the cabals of a traiterous faction, and infected with principles pernicious to the liberty of Rome. To revenge the death of this father, he attached himself to Clodius, and during his *Tribunate*, was one of the ministers of all his violences; yet was detected at the same time in some *criminal intrigue* in his family, injurious to the honor of his Patron [u]. From this education in the City, he went abroad to learn the art of war under Gabinus, the most profligate of all Generals; who gave him the command of his horse in Syria, where he signalized his courage in the restoration of King Ptolemy, and acquired the first taste of martial glory, in an expedition undertaken against the laws and religion of his Country [x]. From Egypt, instead

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

tissimis dicere? recordare tempus illud, cum Pater Curio mœrens jacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos prosternens, lacrymans te mihi commendabat, orabat, ut te contra patrem suum, si H. S. sexagies peteret defenderem: tantum enim se pro te intercessisse: ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset — quo ego tempore tanta mala florentissimæ familiæ sedavi vel potius sustu-

li: patri persuasi, ut æs alienum filii dissolveret, &c.— [Philip. 2. 18.—] M. Antonius, perdundæ pecuniæ genitus, vacuusque curis, nisi instantibus. Sallust. Histor. Fragm. l. iii.

[u] Te domi P. Lentuli educatum — [Phil. 2. 7.] Intimus erat in Tribunatu Clodio — ejus omnium incendiorum fax — cujus etiam domi quiddam jam tum molitus est, &c. ib. 19.

[x] Inde iter Alexandri-

am,

A. Urb. 704. of coming home, where his debts would not suffer
 Cic. 58. him to be easy, *he went to Cæsar into Gaul*, the
 Coff. sure refuge of all the needy, the desperate, and
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, the audacious: and after some stay in that Pro-
 L. CORNELI- vince, being furnished with money and credit by
 US LENTU- Cæsar, he returned to Rome to sue for the Quæ-
 LUS CRUS. storship [y]. Cæsar recommended him in a
 pressing manner to Cicero, “entreating him to
 “accept Antony’s submission, and pardon him
 “for what was past, and to assist him in his
 “present suit: with which Cicero readily com-
 “plied,” and obliged Antony so highly by it,
 that he declared war presently against Clodius,
 “whom he attacked with great fierceness in the
 “Forum, and would certainly have killed, if
 “he had not found means to hide himself un-
 “der some stairs.” Antony openly gave out,
 “that he owed all this to Cicero’s generosity, to
 “whom he could never make amends for for-
 “mer injuries, but by the destruction of his ene-
 “my Clodius [z].” Being chosen Quæstor,
 he went back immediately to Cæsar, without ex-
 pecting *his lot, or a decree of the Senate*, to ap-
 point him his Province: where, though he had
 all imaginable opportunities of acquiring money,
 yet by squandering, as fast as he got it, he came

am, contra senatus auctori-
 tatem, contra Rempub. &
 religiones: sed habebat du-
 cem Gabinium, &c. ib.

[y] Prius in ultimam Gal-
 liam ex Ægypto quam do-
 mum — venisti e Gallia ad
 Quæsturam petendam. — ib.
 —vid. Plutar. in Anton.

[z] Acceperam jam ante
 Cæsaris litteras, ut mihi fa-
 tisferi paterer a te — postea

custoditus sum a te, tu a me
 observatus in petitione Quæ-
 sturæ, quo quidem tempore
 P. Clodium—in foro es cona-
 tus occidere—ita prædicabas,
 te non existimare nisi illum
 interfecisses, unquam mihi
 pro tuis in me injuriis satis
 esse facturum—ib. 20.

Cum se ille fugiens in sca-
 larum tenebras abdidisset, &c.
 pro Mil. 15.

a second

a second time empty and beggarly to Rome, to put in for the Tribune; in which office, after the example of his friend Curio, having sold himself to Cæsar, he was, as Cicero says, as much the cause of the ensuing war, as Helen was of that of Troy [a].

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 53.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

It is certain at least, that Antony's flight gave the immediate pretext to it, as Cicero had foretold :

“ Cæsar, says he, will betake himself to arms,
“ either for our want of preparation, or if no
“ regard be had to him at the election of Con-
“ suls; but especially, if any Tribun, obstruct-
“ ing the deliberations of the Senate, or exciting
“ the people to sedition, should happen to be
“ censured or over-ruled, or taken off, or ex-
“ pelled, or pretending to be expelled, run
“ away to him——[b]” in the same Letter he
gives a short, but true state of the merit of his
cause : “ What, says he, can be more impudent ?
“ You have held your government ten years,
“ not granted to you by the Senate, but extort-
“ ed by violence and faction: the full term is
“ expired, not of the law but of your licentious
“ will: but allow it to be a law; it is now de-
“ creed, that you must have a successor: you
“ refuse, and say, have some regard to me: do
“ you first shew your regard to us: will you

[a] Deinde sine senatus consulto, sine forte, sine lege ad Cæsarem cucurristi. Id enim unum in terris egestatis, æris alieni, nequitiae, perditis vitæ rationibus perfugium esse ducebas—advolasti egens ad Tribunatum, ut in eo Magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses—ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic Reipub.

causa belli, &c——Phil. 2. 21, 22.

[b] Aut addita causa, si forte Tribunus pleb. senatum impediens, aut populum incitans, notatus, aut senatus consulto circumscriptus, aut sublatu aut expulsus sit, dicensve se expulsu ad se confugerit—ad Att. 7. 9.

“ pretend

A. Urb. 704. “pretend to keep an army longer than the people ordered, and contrary to the will of the Senate [c]?” but *Cæsar’s strength lay not in the goodness of his cause, but of his troops* [d]; a considerable part of which he was now drawing together towards the confines of Italy, to be ready to enter into action at any warning: *the flight of the Tribuns* gave him a plausible handle to begin, and seemed to sanctify his attempt; but “his real motive, *says Plutarch*, was the same that animated Cyrus and Alexander before him to disturb the peace of mankind; the unquenchable thirst of Empire, and the wild ambition of being the greatest man in the world, which was not possible, till Pompey was first destroyed [e].” Laying hold therefore of the occasion, he presently passed the Rubicon, which was *the boundary of his Province* on that side of Italy, and marching forward in an hostile manner, possessed himself without resistance of the next great Towns in his way, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona, Aretium, &c [f].

IN this confused and disordered state of the City, Cicero’s friends were soliciting *the decree of his Triumph*, to which the whole Senate signified their ready consent: but “the consul Lentulus, to make the favor more particularly his

[c] Ibid. it. Ep. fam. 16. 11.

[d] Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior. Hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia. Pompeium senatus auctoritas, Cæsarem militum armavit fiducia. Vell. Pat. 2. 49.

[e] Plutar. in Anton.

[f] An ille id faciat,

quod paullo ante decretum est, ut exercitum citra Rubiconem, qui finis est Galliae, educeret?—Philip. 6. 3.

Itaque cum Cæsar amenitia quadam raperetur, &—Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupavisset, Urbem reliquimus—Ep. fam. 16. 12.

“own,

"own, desired that it might be deferred for a while, till the public affairs were better settled, giving his word, that he would then be the mover of it himself [g]." But Cæsar's sudden march towards Rome put an end to all farther thoughts of it, and struck the Senate with such a panic, that, as if he had been already at the gates, they resolved presently to quit the City, and retreat towards the southern parts of Italy. All the principal Senators had particular districts assigned to their care, to be provided with troops, and all materials of defence against Cæsar. *Cicero had Capua, with the inspection of the Sea coast from Formiæ: he would not accept any greater charge for the sake of preserving his authority in the task of mediating a peace [h]; and for the same reason, when he perceived his new Province wholly unprovided against an enemy, and that it was impossible to hold Capua without a strong Garrison, he resigned his Employment, and chose not to act at all [i].*

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coss.
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VOL. II.

R

CAPUA

[g] Nobis tamen inter has turbas Senatus frequens flagitavit Triumphum: sed Lentulus Consul, quo majus suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expeditisset quæ essent necessaria de Repub. dixit se felaturum. Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

[h] Ego negotio præsum non turbulento; vult enim me Pompeius esse, quem tota hæc Campana & maritima ora habeat ἐπισκοπεῖν, ad quem delectus & summa negotii referentur. Ad Att. 7, 11.

Ego adhuc oræ maritimæ

præsum a Formiis. Nullum majus negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meæ litteræ cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Ep. fam. 16. 12.

[i] Nam certe neque tum peccavi, cum imparatam jam Capuam, non solum ignaviæ delectus, sed etiam perfidæ suspicionem fugiens, accipere nolui—ad Att. 8. 12.

Quod tibi ostenderam, cum a me Capuam rejiciebam; quod feci non vitandi oneris causa, sed quod videbam teneri illam urbem sine exercitu

A. Urb. 704.

Cic. 58.

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CAPUA had always been the common seminary or place of educating Gladiators for the great men of Rome; where Cæsar had a famous school of them at this time, which he had long maintained under the best masters for the occasions of his public shews in the City; and as they were very numerous and well furnished with arms, there was reason to apprehend that they would break out, and make some attempt in favor of their master, which might have been of dangerous consequence in the present circumstances of the Republic; so that Pompey thought it necessary to take them out of their school, and distribute them among the principal Inhabitants of the place, *assigning two to each master of a family*, by which he secured them from doing any mischief [k].

WHILE the Pompeian party was under no small dejection on account of Pompey's quitting the City, and retreating from the approach of Cæsar, T. Labienus, one of the chief Commanders on the other side, *deserted Cæsar*, and came over to them, which added some new life to their cause, and raised an expectation that

citu non posse—Ep. Cic. ad Pomp. Ad Att. 8. 11.

As Cicero, when Proconsul of Cilicia, often mentions the *Dioceses* that were annexed to his government, [Ep. Fam. 13. 67.] so in this command of Capua he calls himself the *Episcopus* of the Campanian coast: which shews, that these names, which were appropriated afterwards in the Christian Church to characters and

powers Ecclesiastical, carried with them in their original use, the notion of a real authority, and jurisdiction.

[k] Gladiatores Cæsaris, qui Capuæ sunt—sane commode Pompeius distribuit, binos singulis patribus familiarum. Scutorum in ludo 100 fuerunt eruptionem facturi fuisse dicebantur—sane multum in eo Reip. provisum est. Ad Att. 7. 14.

many

many more would follow his example. Labienus had eminently distinguished himself in the Gallic war, where next to Cæsar himself, he had born the principal part; and by Cæsar's favor, had raised an immense fortune: so that he was much caressed, and carried about every-where by Pompey, who promised himself great service from his fame and experience, and especially from his credit in Cæsar's army, and the knowledge of all his counsils: but his account of things, like that of all desertors, was accommodated rather to please, than to serve his new friends; representing *the weakness of Cæsar's troops, their aversion to his present designs, the disaffection of the two Gauls, and disposition to revolt*; the contrary of all which was found to be true in the experiment: and as he came to them single, without bringing with him any of those troops with which he had acquired his reputation, so his desertion had no other effect, than to ruin his own fortunes, without doing any service to Pompey [1].

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
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BUT what gave a much better prospect to all honest men, was the proposal of an accommodation, which came about this time from Cæsar;

[1] Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is, qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus socius sceleris esse noluit: reliquit illum, & nobiscum est: multique idem facturi dicuntur. Ep. fam. 16. 12.

Aliquantum animi videtur attulisse nobis Labienus—ad Att. 7. 12.

Labienum secum habet

(Pompeius) non dubitantem de imbecillitate Cæsar's copiarum: cujus adventu Cnæus noster multo animi plus habet. Ib. 7. 16.

Nam in Labieno parum est dignitatis. Ib. 8. 2.

—fortis in armis
Cæsar's Labienus erat: nunc
transfuga vilis ———

Lucan. 5. 345.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
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who while he was pushing on the war with incredible vigor, talked of nothing but peace, and endeavoured particularly to persuade Cicero, "that he had no other view, than to secure himself from the insults of his enemies, and yield the first rank in the state to Pompey [*m*]." The conditions were, "that Pompey should go to his government of Spain, that his new levies should be dismissed, and his garrisons withdrawn, and that Cæsar should deliver up his Provinces, the farther Gaul to Domitius, the hither to Confidius, and sue for the Consulship in person, without requiring the privilege of absence." These terms were readily embraced in a grand council of the Chiefs at Capua, and young L. Cæsar, who brought them, was sent back with Letters from Pompey, and the addition onely of one præliminary article, "that Cæsar in the mean while should recall his troops from the Towns, which he had seized beyond his own Jurisdiction, so that the Senate might return to Rome, and settle the whole affair with honor and freedom [*n*]." Cicero was present at this council, of which he gave an account to Atticus; "I came to Capua, *says he*, yesterday the twenty-sixth of January, where

[*m*] Balbus major ad me scribit, nihil malle Cæsarem, quam, principe Pompeio, sine metu vivere. Tu, puto, hæc credis. Ad Att. 8, 9.

[*n*] Feruntur omnino conditiones ab illo, aut, Pompeius eat in Hispaniam; dilectus qui sunt habiti, & præsidia nostra dimittantur: se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citiorem Confidio Noniano —

traditurum. Ad Consulatus petitionem se venturum; neque se jam velle, absente se, rationem sui haberi. Ep. fam. 16. 12. ad Att. 7. 14.

Accepimus conditiones; sed ita ut removeat præsidia ex iis locis, quæ occupavit, ut sine metu de iis ipsis conditionibus Romæ Senatus haberi posset. Ibid.

"I met

“ I met the Consuls, and many of our order : A. Urb. 704:
 “ they all wish that Cæsar would stand to his Cic. 58.
 “ conditions, and withdraw his troops : Favo- Coff.
 “ nius alone was against all conditions imposed C. CLAUDIUS
 “ by Cæsar, but was little regarded, by the MARCELLUS,
 “ Council : for Cato himself would now rather L. CORNE-
 “ live a Slave than fight ; and declares that if LIUS LENTU-
 “ Cæsar recall his garrisons, he will attend the LUS CRUS.
 “ Senate, when the conditions come to be settled,
 “ and not go to Sicily, where his service is
 “ more necessary, which I am afraid will be
 “ of ill consequence——there is a strange va-
 “ riety in our Sentiments ; the greatest part are
 “ of opinion, that Cæsar will not stand to his
 “ terms, and that these offers are made onely to
 “ hinder our preparations : but I am apt to think
 “ that he will withdraw his troops ; for he gets
 “ the better of us by being made Consul, and
 “ with less iniquity, than in the way, which he
 “ is now pursuing ; and we cannot possibly come
 “ off without some loss ; for we are scandalously
 “ unprovided both with soldiers, and with money,
 “ since all that which was either private in the
 “ City, or public, in the treasury, is left a prey
 “ to him [o].”

DURING the suspense of this treaty, and the expectation of Cæsar's answer, Cicero began to conceive some hopes that both sides were relenting, and disposed to make up the quarrel ; Cæsar from a reflection on his rashness, and the Senate on their want of preparation : but he still suspected Cæsar, and the sending a message so important by a person so insignificant, as *young Lucius Cæsar*, looked, he says, *as if he had done it by way of contempt, or with a view to disclame it,*

[o] Ad Att. 7, 15.

A. Urb. 704. especially, when after offering conditions, which
 Cic. 58. were likely to be accepted, he would not 'fit still
 Coss. to wait an answer, *but continued his march with*
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, *the same diligence, and in the same hostile manner,*
 L. CORNELI- *as before* [p]. His suspicions proved true; for
 US LENTU- by letters, which came soon after from Furnius
 LUS CRUS. and Curio, he perceived, *that they made a mere jest*
of the Embassy [q].

It seems very evident, that Cæsar had no real thoughts of peace, by his paying no regard to Pompey's answer, and the trifling reasons which he gave for slighting it [r]: but he had a double view in offering those conditions; for by Pompey's rejecting them, as there was reason to expect from his known aversion to any treaty, he hoped to load him with the odium of the war: or by his embracing them, to slacken his preparations, and retard his design of leaving Italy; whilst he himself in the mean time, by following him with a celerity that amazed every body [s],
 might

[p] Spero in præsentia pacem nos habere. Nam & illum furoris, & hunc nostrum copiarum suppœnitet. Ib.

Tamen vereor ut his ipsis (Cæsar) contentus sit. Nam cum ista mandata dedisset L. Cæsari, debuit esse paullo quietior, dum responsa referrentur. Ib. 7. 17.

Cæsarem quidem, L. Cæfare cum mandatis de pace misso, tamen aiunt acerrime loca occupare——ib. 18.

L. Cæsarem vidi—ut id ipsum mihi ille videatur irridendi causa fecisse, qui tantis de rebus huic mandata dederit. nisi forte non dedit, & hic

sermone aliquo arrepto pro mandatis abusus est—ib. 13.

[q] Accepi litteras tuas, Philotimi, Furnii, Curionis ad Furnium, quibus irridet L. Cæsaris legationem.——ib. 19.

[r] Cæs. Comment. de Bell. Civ. l. 1.

[s] O celeritatem incredibilem!—ad Att. 7. 22. Cicero calls him a monster of vigilance, and scelerity——[ib. 8. 9.] for from his passage of the Rubicon, though he was forced to take in all the great Towns on his road, and spent seven days before Corfinium, yet in less than two

might chance to come up with him before he could embark, and give a decisive blow to the war; from which he had nothing to apprehend, but it's being drawn into length. "I now plainly see, says Cicero, though later indeed than I could have wished on account of the assurances given me by Balbus, that he aims at nothing else, nor has ever aimed at any thing from the beginning, but Pompey's life [t]."

A. Urb. 704.
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IF we consider this famous *passage of the Rubicon*, abstractedly from the event, it seems to have been so hazardous and desperate, that Pompey might reasonably condemn the thought of it, as of an attempt too rash for any prudent man to venture upon. If Cæsar's view indeed had been to possess himself onely of Italy, there could have been no difficulty in it: his army was undoubtedly the best which was then in the world; flushed with victory, animated with zeal for the person of their General, and an overmatch for any which could be brought against it into the field: but this single army was all that he had to trust to; he had no resource: the loss of one battle was certain ruin to him; and yet he must necessarily run the risk of many before he could gain his end: for the whole Empire was armed against him; every Province offered a fresh enemy, and a fresh field of action, where he was like to be exposed to the same danger as on the plains of Pharsalia. But above all, his e-

two months he marched through the whole length of Italy, and came before the gates of Brundisium before Pompey could embark on the 9th of March. Ad Att. 9. 13.

[t] Intelligo serius equidem quam vellem, propter epistolas fermoneſque Balbi, ſed video plane nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio, quam ut hunc occideret. Ad Att. 9. 5.

A. Urb. 704. enemies were masters of the sea, so that he could
 Cic. 58. not transport his forces abroad without the hazard
 Coff. of their being destroyed by a superior fleet, or of
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, being starved at land by the difficulty of convey-
 L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS, ing supplies and provisions to them: Pompey re-
 lied chiefly on this single circumstance, and was
 persuaded, *that it must necessarily determine the
 war in his favor* [u]: so that it seems surprising,
 how such a superiority of advantage, in the hands
 of so great a Commander, could possibly fail of
 success; and we must admire rather the fortune,
 than the conduct of Cæsar, for carrying him safe
 through all these difficulties to the possession of
 the Empire.

CICERO seldom speaks of his attempt, but
as a kind of madness [x], and seemed to retain
 some hopes to the last, that he would not persist
 in it: the same imagination made Pompey and the
 Senate so resolute to defy, when they were in no
 condition to oppose him. Cæsar on the other
 hand might probably imagine, that their stiff-
 ness proceeded from a vain conceit of their strength,
 which would induce them to venture a battle
 with him in Italy, in which case he was sure e-
 nough to beat them: so that both sides were
 drawn farther perhaps than they intended, by
 mistaking each other's view. Cæsar, I say,
 might well apprehend, that they designed to try
 their strength with him in Italy: for that was
 the constant persuasion of the whole party, who
 thought it the best scheme which could be pur-
 sued: Pompey humored them in it, and always
 talked big to keep up their spirits; and though he

[u] Existimat, (Pompeius)
 qui mare teneat, eum necesse
 rerum potiri—Itaque navilis
 apparatus ei semper antiquif-

sima cura fuit. Ib. 10. 8.

[x] Cum Cæsar amentia
 quadam raperetur—Ep. fam.
 16. 12.

saw from the first *the necessity of quitting Italy*, yet he kept the secret to himself, and wrote word at the same time to Cicero, *that he should have a firm army in a few days, with which he would march against Cæsar into Picenum, so as to give them an opportunity of returning to the City* [y]. The plan of the war, as it was commonly understood, was to possess themselves of the principal posts of Italy, and act chiefly on the defensive, in order to distress Cæsar by their different armies, cut off his opportunities of forage, hinder his access to Rome, and hold him continually employed, till the veteran army from Spain, under Pompey's Lieutenants, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, could come up to finish his overthrow [z]. This was the notion which the Senate entertained of the war; they never conceived it possible that Pompey should submit to the disgrace of flying before Cæsar, and giving up Italy a prey to his enemy: in this confidence Domitius, with a very considerable force, and some of the principal Senators, threw himself into Corfinium, a strong town at the foot of the Apennine, on the

A. Urb. 704.
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[y] Omnes nos ἀποσπώ-
ντες, expertes sui tanti &
tam inusitati consilii relinque-
bat. Ad Att. 8. 8.

Pompeius—ad me scribit,
paucis diebus se firmum exer-
citum habiturum, spemque
affert, si in Picenum agrum
ipse venerit, nos Romam re-
dituros esse. Ib. 7. 16.

[z] Suscepto autem bello,
aut tenenda sit urbs, aut ea
relictæ, ille comæatu & re-
liquis copiis intercludendus—
ad Att. 7. 9.

Sin autem ille suis condi-

tionibus stare noluerit, bel-
lum paratum est:—tantum-
modo ut eum intercludamus,
ne ad urbem possit accedere:
quod sperabamus fieri posse:
dilectus enim magnos habe-
bamus—ex Hispaniaque sex
legiones & magna auxilia, A-
franio & Petreio ducibus, ha-
bet a tergo. Videtur, si in-
faniet, posse opprimi, modo
ut urbe salva—Ep. fam. 16.
12.

Summa autem spes Afra-
nium cum magnis copiis ad-
ventare—ad Att. 8. 3.

Adriatic

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.

C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.

L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

Adriatic side, where he proposed to make a stand against Cæsar, and stop the progress of his march; but he lost all his troops in the attempt, to the number of *three Legions*, for want of knowing Pompey's secret. Pompey indeed, when he saw what Domitius intended, pressed him earnestly, by several Letters, to come away and join with him, telling him, "that it was impossible
"to make any opposition to Cæsar, till their
"whole forces were united; and that as to him-
"self, he had with him onely the two Legions,
"which were recalled from Cæsar, and were not
"to be trusted against him; and if Domitius
"should entangle himself in Corfinium, so as to
"be precluded by Cæsar from a retreat, that he
"could not come to his relief with so weak an
"army, and bad him therefore not to be sur-
"prized to hear of his retiring, if Cæsar should
"persist to march towards him [*a*]:" yet Domitius, prepossessed with the opinion, that Italy was to be *the seat of the war*, and that Pompey would never suffer so good a body of troops, and so many of his best friends to be lost, would not quit the advantageous post of Corfinium, but depended still on being relieved; and when he was actually besieged, sent Pompey word, *how easily Cæsar might be intercepted between their two armies* [*b*].

[*a*] Nos disiecta manu pares adversariis esse non possumus. —

Quamobrem nolito commoveri, si audieris me regredi, si forte Cæsar ad me veniet, — etiam atque etiam te hortor, ut cum omni copia quamprimum ad me venias. — vid. Epist. Pomp. ad Do-

mit. ad Att. 8. 12.

[*b*] Domitius ad Pompeium — mittit, qui petant atque orent, ut sibi subveniat: Cæsarem duobus exercitibus, & locorum angustiis intercludi posse, frumentoque prohiberi, &c.

Cæs. Comment. de Bell. civ. l. i.

CICERO

CICERO was as much disappointed as any of the rest; he had never dreamt of their being obliged to quit Italy, till by Pompey's motions he perceived at last his intentions; of which he speaks, with great severity, in several of his Letters, and begs Atticus's advice upon that new face of their affairs; and to enable Atticus to give it the more clearly, he explains to him in short what occurred to his own mind on the one side and the other. "The great obligations," says he, which I am under to Pompey, and "my particular friendship with him, as well as "the cause of the Republic itself, seem to persuade me, that I ought to join my counsils "and fortunes with his. Besides, if I stay behind, and desert that band of the best and "most eminent Citizens, I must fall under the "power of a single person, who gives me many "proofs indeed of being my friend, and whom, "as you know, I had long ago taken care to "make such from a suspicion of this very storm, "which now hangs over us; yet it should be "well considered, both how far I may venture "to trust him, and supposing it clear, that I "may trust him, whether it be consistent with "the character of a firm and honest Citizen to "continue in that City, in which he has born "the greatest honors, and performed the greatest acts, and where he is now invested with "the most honorable Priesthood, when it is to be "attended with some danger, and perhaps with "some disgrace, if Pompey should ever restore "the Republic. These are the difficulties on "the one side; let us see what there are on the "other: nothing has hitherto been done by our "Pompey, either with prudence or courage; "I may add also nothing but what was contra-

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
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US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

"ry

A. Urb. 704. "ry to my advice and authority : I will omit
 Cic. 58. "those old stories : how he first nursed, raised
 Coss. "and armed this man against the Republic ;
 C. CLAUDIUS "how he supported him in carrying his laws by
 MARCELLUS, "violence, and without regard to the Auspices ;
 L. CORNELI- "how he added the farther Gaul to his Govern-
 US LENTU- "ment, made himself his son-in-law, assisted as
 LUS CRUS. "Augur in the Adoption of Clodius, was more
 "zealous to restore me, than to prevent my
 "being expelled ; enlarged the term of Cæsar's
 "command, served him in all his affairs in his
 "absence, nay, in his third Consulship, after
 "he began to espouse the interests of the Re-
 "public, how he insisted, that the ten Tribuns
 "should jointly propose a law to dispense with
 "his absence in suing for the Consulship, which
 "he confirmed afterwards by a law of his own,
 "and opposed the Consul Marcellus, when he
 "moved to put an end to his government on the
 "first of March : but to omit, I say, all this,
 "what can be more dishonorable, or shew a
 "greater want of conduct than this retreat, or
 "rather shamefull flight from the City ? what
 "conditions were not preferable to the necessity
 "of abandoning our country ? the conditions, I
 "confess, were bad ; yet what can be worse than
 "this ? but Pompey, you'll say, will recover
 "the Republic ; when ? or what preparation is
 "there for it ? is not all Picenum lost ? is not
 "the way left open to the City ? is not all our
 "treasure both public and private given up to
 "the enemy ? in a word, there is no party, no
 "forces, no place of rendezvous for the friends
 "of the Republic to resort to ; Apulia is chosen
 "for our retreat ; the weakest and remotest
 "part of Italy, which implies nothing but de-
 "spair, and a design of flying by the opportu-
 "nity

“ nity of the sea, &c. [c]. In another Letter, A. Urb. 704.
 “ there is but one thing wanting, says he, to Cic. 58.
 “ complete our friend’s disgrace; his failing to C. CLAUDIUS
 “ succour Domitius: nobody doubts but that MARCELLUS,
 “ he will come to his relief; yet I am not of L. CORNELI-
 “ that mind. Will he then desert such a Citi- US LENTU-
 “ zen, and the rest, whom you know to be LUS CRUS.
 “ with him? especially when he has thirty co-
 “ horts in the Town: yes, unless all things de-
 “ ceive me, he will desert him: he is strangely
 “ frightened; means nothing but to fly; yet
 “ you, for I perceive what your opinion is,
 “ think, that I ought to follow this man. For
 “ my part, I easily know, whom I ought to fly,
 “ not whom I ought to follow. As to that
 “ saying of mine, which you extoll, and think
 “ worthy to be celebrated, *that I had rather be*
 “ *conquered with Pompey, than conquer with Cæ-*
 “ *sar*; ’tis true, I still say so; but with such a
 “ Pompey as he then was, or as I took him to
 “ be: but as for this man, who runs away, be-
 “ fore he knows from whom, or whither; who
 “ has betrayed us and ours, given up his coun-
 “ try, and is now leaving Italy; if I had rather
 “ be conquered with him, the thing is over, I
 “ am conquered, &c. [d]”

THERE was a notion in the mean while, that universally prevailed through Italy, of *Cæsar’s cruel and revengeful temper*, from which horrible effects were apprehended: Cicero himself was strongly possessed with it, as appears from many of his Letters, where he seems to take it for granted, that he would be *a second Phalaris, not a Pisistratus; a bloody, not a gentle Tyrant*. This he inferred from the *violence of his past life; the*

[c] Ad Att. 8. 3. [d] Ad Att. 8. 7.

nature

A. Urb. 704. nature of his present enterprize; and above all,
 Cic. 58. from the character of his friends and followers;
 Coss. who were, generally speaking, a needy, pro-
 C. CLAUDIUS fligate, audacious crew; prepared for every thing
 MARCELLUS. that was desperate [e]. It was affirmed likewise
 L. CORNELI- with great confidence, that he had openly de-
 US LENTU- clared, *that he was now coming to revenge the*
 LUS CRUS. *deaths of Cn. Carbo, M. Brutus, and all the other*
Marian Chiefs, whom Pompey, when acting un-
der Sylla, had cruelly put to death for their op-
position to the Syllan cause [f]. But there was
no real ground for any of these suspicions: for
Cæsar, who thought Tyranny, as Cicero says,
the greatest of Goddeses, and whose sole view it
had been through life to bring his affairs to this
crisis, and to make a bold push for Empire, had,
from the observation of past times, and the fate of
former Tyrants, laid it down for a maxim, that
clemency in victory was the best means of securing
the stability of it [g]. Upon the surrender there-
fore of Corfinium, where he had the first oppor-
tunity of giving a public specimen of himself, he

[e] Istum cujus φαλαρισμὸν times, omnia teterrime fac-
 turum puto. Ad Att. 7. 12.

Incertum est Phalarim ne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus
 —ib. 20.

Nam cædem video si vice-
 rit — & regnum non modo
 Romano homini sed ne Per-
 sæ quidem tolerabile — ib.
 10. 8.

Qui hic potest se gerere
 non perdit? vita, mores an-
 te facta, ratio suscepti nego-
 tii, locii — ib. 9. 2. it. 9. 19.

[f] Atque cum loqui qui-
 dam αὐθεντικῶς narrabant;
 Cn. Carbonis, M. Bruti se

pœnas persequi, &c. Ad Att.
 9. 14.

[g] Τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥς
 ἔχειν τυραννίδα. Ad. Att. 7.
 11.

Tentemus hoc modo, si
 possumus, omnium volunta-
 tes recuperare, & diuturna
 victoria uti: quoniam reliqui
 credulitate odium effugere
 non potuerunt, neq; victoriam
 diutius tenere, præter unum
 L. Syllam, quem imitaturus
 non sum. Hæc nova sit ra-
 tio vincendi; ut misericordia
 & liberalitate nos muniamus.
 —Ep. Cæsaris ad Opp. Att.
 9. 7.

shewed

shewed a noble example of moderation, by the generous dismissal of Domitius, *and all the other Senators who fell into his hands*; among whom was Lentulus Spinther, Cicero's particular friend [b]. This made a great turn in his favor, by easing people of the terrors, which they had before conceived of him, and seemed to confirm what he affected every where to give out, *that he sought nothing by the war but the security of his person and dignity*. Pompey on the other hand appeared every day more and more despicable, by flying before an enemy, whom his pride and perverseness was said to have driven to the necessity of taking arms——“tell me, I beg of you, “says Cicero, what can be more wretched, than “for the one to be gathering applause from the “worst of causes, the other giving offence in “the best? the one to be reckoned the preserver “of his enemies, the other the defector of “his friends? and in truth, though I have all “the affection which I ought to have for our “friend Cnæus, yet I cannot excuse his not “coming to the relief of such men; for if he “was afraid to do it, what can be more paltry? “or if, as some think, he thought to make “his cause the more popular, by their destruction, what can be more unjust? &c. [i].” From this first experiment of Cæsar's clemency,

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

[b] Cæf. Comment. l. 1. Plutar. in Cæf.—

[i] Sed obsecro te, quid hoc miserius, quam alterum plausus in foedissima causa querere; alterum offensiones in optima? alterum existimari conservatorem inimicorum, alterum desertorem amicorum? & mehercule

quamvis amemus Cnæum nostrum ut & facimus & debemus, tamen hoc, quod talibus viris non subvenit, laudare non possum. Nam si timuit quid ignavius? si, ut quidam putant, meliorem suam causam illorum cædere putavit, quid injustius? —ad Att. 8. 9.

Cicero

- A. Urb. 704. Cicero took occasion to send him a Letter of compliment, and to thank him particularly for his generous treatment of Lentulus, who when Consul, had been the chief author of his restoration; to which Cæsar returned the following answer.
- C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

Cæsar Emperor to Cicero Emperor.

“ You judge rightly of me, for I am thoroughly known to you, that nothing is farther removed from me than cruelty ; and as I have a great pleasure from the thing itself, so I rejoice and triumph to find my act approved by you : nor does it at all move me, that those, who were dismissed by me, are said to be gone away to renew the war against me : for I desire nothing more, than that I may always act like myself ; they like themselves. I wish that you would meet me at the City, that I may use your counsel and assistance as I have hitherto done in all things. Nothing, I assure you, is dearer to me than Dolabella ; I will owe this favor therefore to him : nor is it possible for him indeed to behave otherwise, such is his humanity, his good sense, and his affection to me. Adieu [k].”

WHEN Pompey, after the unhappy affair of Corfinium, found himself obliged to retire to Brundisium, and to declare, what he had never before directly owned, *his design of quitting Italy, and carrying the war abroad* [l] ; he was very desirous to draw Cicero along with him, and wrote two Letters to him at Formiæ, to press him to come away directly ; but Cicero, already

[k] Ad Att. 9. 16.

[l] Qui amisso Corfinio

denique me certiolem consilii sui fecit.—ib. 9. 2.

much out of humor with him, was disgusted still the more by his short and negligent manner of writing, upon an occasion so important [m]: the second of Pompey's Letters, with Cicero's answer, will explain the present state of their affairs, and Cicero's sentiments upon them.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus Proconsul to M. Cicero
Emperor.

“ IF you are in good health, I rejoice: I read
“ your Letter with pleasure: for I perceived in
“ it your ancient virtue by your concern for the
“ common safety. The Consuls are come to
“ the army, which I had in Apulia: I earnestly
“ exhort you, by your singular and perpetual
“ affection to the Republic, to come also to us,
“ that by our joint advice we may give help and
“ relief to the afflicted state. I would have you
“ make the Appian way your road, and come
“ in all haste to Brundisium. Take care of your
“ health.”

M. Cicero Emperor to Cn. Magnus Proconsul.

“ WHEN I sent that letter, which was deli-
“ vered to you at Canusium, I had no suspicion
“ of your crossing the sea for the service of the
“ Republic, and was in great hopes, that we
“ should be able, either to bring about an ac-
“ commodation, which to me seemed the most
“ usefull, or to defend the Republic with the great-
“ est dignity in Italy. In the mean time, be-

[m] Epistolarum Pompeii scribendo diligentiam volui
duarum, quas ad me misit, tibi notam esse: earum ex-
negligentiam, meamque in empla ad te misi. Ib. 8. 11.

- A. Urb. 704. “ fore my Letter reached you, being informed
 Cic. 58. “ of your resolution, by the instructions which
 Coss. “ you sent to the Consuls, I did not wait till I
 C. CLAUDIUS “ could have a Letter from you, but set out im-
 MARCELLUS. “ mediately towards you with my Brother and
 L. CORNELI- “ our childrrn for Apulia. When we were come
 US LENTU- “ to Theanum, your friend C. Messius, and ma-
 LUS CRUS. “ ny others told us, that Cæsar was on the road
 “ to Capua, and would lodge that very night at
 “ Æsernia: I was much disturbed at it, because,
 “ if it was true, I not onely took my journey to
 “ be precluded, but myself also to be certainly
 “ a prisoner. I went on therefore to Cales with
 “ intent to stay there, till I could learn from
 “ Æsernia the certainty of my intelligence: at
 “ Cales there was brought to me a copy of the
 “ Letter, which you wrote to the Consul Lentu-
 “ lus, with which you sent the copy also of one
 “ that you had received from Domitius, dated
 “ the eighteenth of February, and signified,
 “ that it was of great importance to the Repub-
 “ lic, that all the troops should be drawn toge-
 “ ther, as soon as possible, to one place; yet
 “ so as to leave a sufficient Garrison in Capua.
 “ Upon reading these Letters, I was of the same
 “ opinion with all the rest, that you were re-
 “ solved to march to Corfinium with all your
 “ forces, whither, when Cæsar lay before the
 “ Town, I thought it impossible for me to come.
 “ While this affair was in the utmost expectati-
 “ on, we were informed at one and the same
 “ time both of what had happened at Corfinium,
 “ and that you were actually marching towards
 “ Brundisium: and when I and my Brother re-
 “ solved without hesitation to follow you thither,
 “ we were advertised by many, who came from
 “ Samnium, and Apulia, to take care that we
 “ did

“ did not fall into Cæsar’s hands, for that he was A. Urb. 704.
 “ upon his march to the same places where our Cic. 58.
 “ road lay, and would reach them sooner than Coss.
 “ we could possibly do. This being the case, it C. CLAUDIUS
 “ did not seem adviseable to me, or my Brother, MARCELLUS.
 “ or any of our friends, to run the risk of hurt- L. CORNELI-
 “ ing, not onely ourselves, but the Republic, US LENTU-
 “ our rashness: especially when we could not LUS CRUS.
 “ doubt, but that if the journey had been safe
 “ to us, we should not then be able to overtake
 “ you. In the mean while I received your Let-
 “ ter, dated from Canusium the twenty-first of
 “ February, in which you exhort me to come in
 “ all haste to Brundisium: but as I did not receive
 “ it till the twenty-ninth, I made no question
 “ but that you were already arrived at Brundi-
 “ sium, and all that road seemed wholly shut
 “ up to us, and we ourselves are surely intercept-
 “ ed as those who were taken at Corfinium: for
 “ we did not reckon them onely to be prisoners,
 “ who were actually fallen into the enemy’s hands,
 “ but those too not less so, who happen to be
 “ enclosed within the quarters and garrisons of
 “ their adversaries. Since this is our case, I
 “ heartily wish in the first place, that I had al-
 “ ways been with you, as I then told you when
 “ I relinquished the Command of Capua, which
 “ I did not do for the sake of avoiding trouble,
 “ but because I saw that the Town could not be
 “ held without an army, and was unwilling
 “ that the same accident should happen to me,
 “ which to my sorrow has happened to some of
 “ our bravest Citizens at Corfinium: but since it
 “ has not been my lot to be with you, I wish
 “ that I had been made privy to your counsils:
 “ for I could not possibly suspect, and should
 “ sooner have believed any thing, than that for

- A. Urb. 704. " the good of the Republic, under such a Lea-
 Cic. 58. " der as you, we should not be able to stand our
 Coff. " ground in Italy : nor do I now blame your
 C. CLAUDIUS " conduct, but lament the fate of the Republic;
 MARCELLUS. " and though I cannot comprehend what it is
 L. CORNELI- " which you have followed, yet I am not the
 US LENTU- " less persuaded, that you have done nothing,
 LUS CRUS. " but with the greatest reason. You remember,
 " I believe, what my opinion always was ; first,
 " to preserve peace even on bad conditions ; then
 " about leaving the City ; for as to Italy, you
 " never intimated a tittle to me about it : but I
 " do not take upon myself to think, that my
 " advice ought to have been followed : I follow-
 " ed yours ; nor that for the sake of the Repub-
 " lic, of which I despaired, and which is now
 " overturned, so as not to be raised up again
 " without a civil and most pernicious war : I
 " sought you ; desired to be with you ; nor will I
 " omit the first opportunity which offers of ef-
 " fecting it. I easily perceived, through all this
 " affair, that I did not satisfy those who are fond
 " of fighting : for I made no scruple to own,
 " that I wished for nothing so much as peace ;
 " not but that I had the same apprehensions
 " from it as they ; but I thought them more to-
 " lerable than a civil war ; then, after the war
 " was begun, when I saw that conditions of
 " peace were offered to you, and a full and ho-
 " norable answer given to them, I began to
 " weigh and deliberate well upon my own con-
 " duct, which, considering your kindness to me,
 " I fancied that I should easily explaine to your
 " satisfaction : I recollected that I was the onely
 " man, who, for the greatest services to the pub-
 " lic, had suffered a most wretched and cruel pu-
 " nishment : that I was the onely one, who, if I
 " offended

“offended him, to whom at the very time when
 “we were in arms against him, a second Con-
 “sulship and most splendid Triumph was offer-
 “ed, should be involved again in all the same
 “struggles; so that my person seemed to stand
 “always exposed as a public mark to the insults
 “of profligate Citizens: nor did I suspect any
 “of these things till I was openly threatned with
 “them, nor was I so much afraid of them, if
 “they were really to befall me, as I judged it
 “prudent to decline them, if they could ho-
 “nestly be avoided. You see in short the state
 “of my conduct while we had any hopes of
 “peace; what has since happened deprived me
 “of all power to do any thing: but to those
 “whom I do not please I can easily answer, that
 “I never was more a friend to C. Cæsar than
 “they, nor they ever better friends to the Re-
 “public than myself: the onely difference be-
 “tween me and them is, that as they are ex-
 “cellent Citizens, and I not far removed from
 “that character, it was my advice to procede
 “by way of treaty, which I understood to be
 “approved also by you; theirs by way of arms;
 “and since this method has prevailed, it shall be
 “my care to behave myself so, that the Repub-
 “lic may not want in me the spirit of a true
 “Citizen, nor you of a friend. Adieu [n].”

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coff.
 C. CLAUDIUS
 MARCELLUS.
 L. CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS CRUS.

THE disgust, which Pompey's management
 had given him, and which he gently intimates
 in this Letter, was the true reason why he did
 not join him at this time: he had a mind to deli-
 berate a while longer, before he took a step so
 decisive: this he owns to Atticus, where, after
 recounting all the particulars of his own conduct,

[n] Ad Att. 8. 11.

A. Urb. 704. which were the most liable to exception, he adds,
 Cic 58. *I have neither done nor omitted to do any thing,*
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. *which has not both a probable and prudent excuse—*
 L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS. *and in truth was willing to consider a little longer,*
what was right and fit for me to do [o]. The chief ground of his deliberation was, that he still thought a peace possible, in which case Pompey and Cæsar would be one again, and he had no mind to give Cæsar any cause to be an enemy to him, when he was become a friend to Pompey.

WHILE things were in this situation, Cæsar sent young Balbus after the Consul Lentulus, to endeavour to persuade him *to stay in Italy, and return to the City*, by the offer of every thing that could tempt him: he called upon Cicero on his way, who gives the following account of it to Atticus: “Young Balbus came to me on the “twenty-fourth in the evening, running in all “haste by private roads after Lentulus, with Letters and instructions from Cæsar, and the offer “of any Government, if he will return to Rome: “but it will have no effect unless they happen “to meet: he told me that Cæsar desired nothing so much as to overtake Pompey; which “I believe; and to be friends with him again; “which I do not believe; and begin to fear, “that all his clemency means nothing else at last “but to give that one cruel blow. The elder “Balbus writes me word, that Cæsar wishes nothing more than to live in safety, and yield “the first rank to Pompey. You take him I “suppose to be in earnest [p].”

CICERO seems to think, *that Lentulus might*

[o] Nihil prætermissum est, mihi esset, diutius cogitare quod non habeat sapientem malui—ib. 8. 12.
 excusationem—& plane quid [p] Ad Att. 8. 9.
 rectum, & quid faciendum

have

have been persuaded to stay if Balbus and he had met together; for he had no opinion of the firmness of these Consuls, but says of them both on another occasion, *that they were more easily moved by every wind, than a feather or a leaf.* He received another Letter soon after from Balbus, of which he sent a copy to Atticus, *that he might pity him,* he says, *to see what a dupe they thought to make of him [q].*

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

Balbus to Cicero Emperor.

“ I conjure you, Cicero, to think of some
“ method of making Cæsar and Pompey friends
“ again, who by the perfidy of certain persons
“ are now divided: it is a work highly worthy
“ of your virtue: take my word for it, Cæsar
“ will not onely be in your power, but think him-
“ self infinitely obliged to you if you would
“ charge yourself with this affair. I should be
“ glad if Pompey would do so too; but in the
“ present circumstances, it is what I wish rather
“ than hope, that he may be brought to any
“ terms: but whenever he gives over flying and
“ fearing Cæsar, I shall not despair, that your
“ authority may have its weight with him. Cæ-
“ sar takes it kindly, that you were for Lentu-
“ lus’s staying in Italy, and it was the greatest
“ obligation which you could confer upon me:
“ for I love him as much as I do Cæsar himself:
“ if he had suffered me to talk to him as freely
“ as we used to do, and not so often shunned
“ the opportunities which I sought of conferring
“ with him, I should have been less unhappy

[q] Nec me Consules mo- meam doleres, cum me deri-
vent, qui ipsi pluma aut folio deri videres. Ib. 8. 15.
facilius moventur— ut vicem

A. Urb. 704. " than I now am : for assure yourself that no
 Cic. 58. " man can be more afflicted than I, to see one,
 Coss. " who is dearer to me than myself, acting his
 C. CLAUDIUS " part so ill in his Consulship, that he seems to
 MARCELLUS. " be any thing rather than a Consul ; but should
 L. CORNELI- " he be disposed to follow your advice, and take
 US LENTU- " your word for Cæsar's good intentions, and
 LUS CRUS. " pass the rest of his Consulship at Rome, I
 " should begin to hope, that by your authority
 " and at his motion, Pompey and Cæsar may
 " be made one again with the approbation even
 " of the Senate. Whenever this can be brought
 " about, I shall think that I have lived long
 " enough : you will entirely approve, I am sure,
 " what Cæsar did at Corfinium : in an affair of
 " that sort, nothing could fall out better, than
 " that it should be transacted without blood. I
 " am extremely glad, that my Nephew's visit
 " was agreeable to you ; as to what he said
 " on Cæsar's part, and what Cæsar himself
 " wrote to you, I know Cæsar to be very sin-
 " cere in it, whatever turn his affairs may
 " take [r]."

CÆSAR at the same time was extremely solli-
 citous, not so much to gain Cicero, for that was
 not to be expected, as to prevail with him *to stand*
neuter. He wrote to him several times to that
 effect, and employed all their common friends to
 press him with Letters on that head [s] : who,
 by his keeping such a distance at this time from
 Pompey, imagining that they had made some
 impression, began to attempt a second point with
 him, viz. *to persuade him to come back to Rome,*

[r] Ad Att. 8. 15.

[s] Quod quæris quid Cæ-
 sar ad me scripserit. Quod
 sæpe : gratissimum sibi esse

quod quierim : oratque ut in
 eo perseverem. Balbus mi-
 nor hæc eadem mandata. Ib.
 8. 11.

and

and assist in the councils of the Senate, which Cæsar designed to summon at his return from following Pompey: with this view in the hurry of his march towards Brundisium, Cæsar sent him the following Letter.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

Cæsar Emperor to Cicero Emperor.

“ WHEN I had but just time to see our friend
“ Furnius, nor could conveniently speak with,
“ or hear him, was in haste, and on my march,
“ having sent the Legions before me, yet I could
“ not pass by without writing, and sending him
“ to you with my thanks; though I have often
“ paid this duty before, and seem likely to pay
“ it oftner, you deserve it so well of me. I de-
“ sire of you in a special manner, that, as I hope
“ to be in the City shortly, I may see you there,
“ and have the benefit of your advice, your in-
“ terest, your authority, your assistance in all
“ things. But to return to the point: you will
“ pardon the haste and brevity of my Letter, and
“ learn the rest from Furnius.” To which Ci-
cero answered.

Cicero Emperor to Cæsar Emperor.

“ UPON reading your Letter, delivered to me
“ by Furnius, in which you pressed me to come
“ to the City, I did not so much wonder at what
“ you there intimated of your desire to use my
“ advice and authority, but was at a loss to find
“ out what you meant by my interest, and assist-
“ ance: yet I flattered myself into a persua-
“ sion, that out of your admirable and singular
“ wisdom, you were desirous to enter into some
“ measures for establishing the peace and con-
“ cord

A. Urb. 704. " cord of the City ; and in that case I looked
 Cic. 58. " upon my temper and character as fit enough to
 Coss. " be employed in such a deliberation. If the
 C. CLAUDIUS " case be so, and you have any concern for the
 MARCELLUS, " safety of our friend Pompey, and of recon-
 L. CORNELI- " ciling him to yourself, and to the Republic,
 US LENTU- " you will certainly find no man more proper for
 LUS CRUS. " such a work than I am, who from the very
 " first have always been the adviser of peace
 " both to him and the Senate ; and since this
 " recourse to arms have not meddled with any
 " part of the war, but thought you to be really
 " injured by it, while your enemies and enviers
 " were attempting to deprive you of those ho-
 " nors, which the Roman people had granted
 " you. But as at that time I was not onely a fa-
 " vorer of your dignity, but an encourager also
 " of others to assist you in it ; so now the dig-
 " nity of Pompey greatly affects me : for many
 " years ago I made choice of you two, with
 " whom to cultivate a particular friendship, and
 " to be, as I now am, most strictly united.
 " Wherefore I desire of you, or rather beg and
 " implore with all my prayers, that in the hurry
 " of your cares you would indulge a moment to
 " this thought, how by your generosity I may be
 " permitted to shew myself an honest, gratefull,
 " pious man, in remembering an act of the
 " greatest kindness to me. If this related onely
 " to myself, I should hope still to obtain it from
 " you : but it concerns, I think, both your honor
 " and the Republic, that by your means I should
 " be allowed to continue in a situation the best
 " adapted to promote the peace of you two, as
 " well as the general concord of all the Citizens.
 " After I had sent my thanks to you before on
 " the account of Lentulus ; for giving safety
 " to

“to him who had given it to me; yet upon
 “reading his Letter, in which he expreffes the
 “moft gratefull Senfe of your liberality, I took
 “myself to have received the fame grace from
 “you, which he had done: towards whom, if
 “by this you perceive me to be gratefull, let it
 “be your care, I befeech you, that I may be fo
 “too towards Pompey [t].”

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coff.
 C. CLAUDIUS
 MARCELLUS,
 L. CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS CRUS.

CICERO was censured for some passages of this Letter, which Cæsar took care to make public, viz. the compliment on *Cæsar's admirable wisdom*; and above all, the acknowledgement of *his being injured by his adversaries in the present war*: in excuse of which, he says, “that he was not sorry for the publication of it, for he himself had given several copies of it; and considering what had since happened, was pleased to have it known to the world how much he had always been inclined to peace: and that in urging Cæsar to save his Country, he thought it his business to use such expressions as were the most likely to gain authority with him, without fearing to be thought guilty of flattery, in urging him to an act, for which he would gladly have thrown himself even at his feet [u].”

He received another Letter on the same subject, and about the same time, written jointly by

[t] Ad Att. 9. 6. 11.

[u] Epistolam meam quod pervulgatam scribis esse non fero moleste. Quin etiam ipse multis dedi describendam. Ea enim & acciderunt jam & impendent, ut testatum esse velim de pace quid senserim. Cum autem eum hortarer, cum præsertim hominem, non

videbar ullo modo facilius moturus, quam si id, quod eum hortarer, convenire ejus sapientiæ dicerem. Eam si admirabilem dixi, cum eum ad salutem patriæ hortarer, non sum veritus, ne viderer assentiri, cui tali in re lubenter me ad pedes abjecissem, &c. Ib. 8. 9.

Balbus

A. Urb. 704. Balbus and Oppius, two of Cæsar's chief confidants.
Cic. 58.
Coff.

C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

Balbus and Oppius to M. Cicero.

“ THE advice, not onely of little men, such
“ as we are, but even of the greatest, is gene-
“ rally weighed, not by the intention of the
“ giver, but the event; yet relying on your hu-
“ manity, we will give you what we take to be
“ the best in the case about which you wrote to
“ us; which, though it should not be found pru-
“ dent, yet certainly flows from the utmost fide-
“ lity and affection to you. If we did not know
“ from Cæsar himself, that, as soon as he comes
“ to Rome, he will do what in our judgement
“ we think he ought to do, treat about a recon-
“ ciliation between him and Pompey, we should
“ give over exhorting you to come and take
“ part in those deliberations; that by your help,
“ who have a strict friendship with them both,
“ the whole affair may be settled with ease and
“ dignity: or, if on the contrary, we believed
“ that Cæsar would not do it, and knew that he
“ was resolved upon a war with Pompey, we
“ should never try to persuade you, to take arms
“ against a man to whom you have the greatest
“ obligations, in the same manner as we have al-
“ ways entreated you, not to fight against Cæsar.
“ But since at present we can onely guess rather
“ than know what Cæsar will do, we have no-
“ thing to offer but this, that it does not seem
“ agreeable to your dignity, or your fidelity, so
“ well known to all, when you are intimate with
“ them both, to take arms against either: and
“ this we do not doubt but Cæsar, according to
“ his humanity, will highly approve: yet if you
“ judge

“ judge proper, we will write to him, to let us
 “ know what he will really do about it ; and if
 “ he returns us an answer, will presently send
 “ you notice, what we think of it, and give
 “ you our word, that we will advise onely, what
 “ we take to be most suitable to your honor, not
 “ to Cæsar’s views ; and are persuaded, that Cæ-
 “ sar, out of his indulgence to his friends, will
 “ be pleased with it [x].” This joint Letter
 was followed by a separate one from Balbus.

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAUDIUS
 MARCELLUS.
 L. CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS CRUS.

Balbus to Cicero Emperor.

“ IMMEDIATELY after I had sent the com-
 “ mon Letter from Oppius and myself, I re-
 “ ceived one from Cæsar, of which I have sent
 “ you a copy ; whence you will perceive how
 “ desirous he is of peace, and to be reconciled
 “ with Pompey, and how far removed from all
 “ thoughts of cruelty. It gives me an extreme
 “ joy, as it certainly ought to do, to see him in
 “ these sentiments. As to yourself, your fide-
 “ lity, and your piety, I am intirely of the same
 “ mind, my dear Cicero, with you, that you
 “ cannot, consistently with your character and
 “ duty, bear arms against a man to whom you
 “ declare yourself so greatly obliged : that Cæsar
 “ will approve this resolution, I certainly know
 “ from his singular humanity ; and that you
 “ will perfectly satisfy him, by taking no part
 “ in the war against him, nor joining yourself
 “ to his adversaries : this he will think sufficient,
 “ not onely from you, a person of such dignity
 “ and splendor, but has allowed it even to me,
 “ not to be found in that camp, which is likely

[x] Ad Att. 9. 2.

“ to

A. Urb. 704. " to be formed against Lentulus and Pompey, from
 Cic. 58. " whom I have received the greatest obligations :
 Coss. " it was enough, he said, if I performed my
 C. CLAUDIUS " part to him in the City and the gown, which
 MARCELLUS, " I might perform also to them if I thought fit :
 L. CORNELI- " wherefore I now manage all Lentulus's affairs
 US LENTU- " at Rome, and discharge my duty, my fidelity,
 LUS CRUS. " my piety to them both: yet in truth I do not take
 " the hopes of an accommodation, though now
 " so low, to be quite desperate, since Cæsar is in
 " that mind in which we ought to wish him :
 " one thing would please me, if you think it
 " proper, that you would write to him, and de-
 " sire a guard from him, as you did from Pom-
 " pey, at the time of Milo's trial, with my ap-
 " probation : I will undertake for him, if I right-
 " ly know Cæsar, that he will sooner pay a re-
 " gard to your dignity, than to his own interest.
 " How prudently I write these things, I know
 " not ; but this I certainly know ; that whatever
 " I write, I write out of a singular love and af-
 " fection to you : for (let me die, so as Cæsar
 " may but live) if I have not so great an esteem
 " for you, that few are equally dear to me.
 " When you have taken any resolution in this
 " affair, I wish that you would let me know it,
 " for I am exceedingly solicitous that you should
 " discharge your duty to them both, which in
 " truth I am confident you will discharge. Take
 " care of your health [y]."

THE offer of a guard was artfully insinuated ;
 for while it carried an appearance of honor and
 respect to Cicero's person, it must necessarily have
 made him Cæsar's prisoner, and deprived him of
 the liberty of retiring, when he found it proper,

out of Italy : but he was too wise to be caught by it, or to be moved in any manner by the Letters themselves, to entertain the least thought of going to Rome, since to assist in the Senate, when Pompey and the Consuls were driven out of it, was in reality to take part against them. What gave him a more immediate uneasiness, was the daily expectation of an interview with Cæsar himself, who was now returning from Brundisium by the road of Formiæ, where he then resided : for though he would gladly have avoided him, if he could have contrived to do it decently, yet to leave the place just when Cæsar was coming to it, could not fail of being interpreted as a particular affront : he resolved therefore *to wait for him, and to act on the occasion with a firmness and gravity, which became his rank and character.*

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

THEY met as he expected, and he sent Atticus the following account of what passed between them : “ My discourse with him, says he, “ was such, as would rather make him think “ well of me than thank me. I stood firm in “ refusing to go to Rome ; but was deceived in “ expecting to find him easy ; for I never saw “ any one less so : he was condemned, he said, “ by my judgement ; and, if I did not come, “ others would be the more backward : I told “ him that their case was very different from “ mine. After many things said on both sides, “ he bad me come however, and try to make “ peace : shall I do it, says I, in my own way ? “ do you imagine, replied he, that I will pre- “ scribe to you ? I will move the Senate, then, “ says I, for a decree against your going to Spain, “ or transporting your troops into Greece, and “ say a great deal besides in bewailing the case of
“ Pompey :

A. Urb. 704. "Pompey: I will not allow, replied he, such
 Cic. 58. "things to be said: so I thought, says I, and
 Coss. "for that reason will not come; because I must
 C. CLAUDIUS "either say them, and many more, which I
 MARCELLUS, "cannot help saying, if I am there, or not come
 L. CORNELI- "at all. The result was; that to shift off the
 US LENTU- "discourse, he wished me to consider of it;
 LUS CRUS. "which I could not refuse to do, and so we
 "parted. I am persuaded, that he is not pleased
 "with me; but I am pleased with myself; which
 "I have not been before of a long time. As
 "for the rest; good Gods, what a crew he has
 "with him! what a hellish band, as you call
 "them!—— what a deplorable affair! what de-
 "perate troops! what a lamentable thing, to see
 "Servius's son, and Titinius's, with many more
 "of their rank in that camp, which besieged
 "Pompey! he has six legions; wakes at all
 "hours; fears nothing; I see no end of this ca-
 "lamity. His declaration at the last, which I
 "had almost forgot, was odious; that if he was
 "not permitted to use my advice, he would use
 "such as he could get from others, and pursue
 "all measures which were for his service [z]."
 From this conference, Cicero went directly to
 Arpinum, and there invested his son, *at the age*
of sixteen, with the manly gown: he resolved to
 carry him along with him to Pompey's camp,
 and thought it proper to give him an air of man-
 hood before he enlisted him into the war: and
 since he could not perform that ceremony at
 Rome, chose to oblige his Countrymen, by ce-
 lebrating this Festival in his native City [a].

[z] Ad Att. 9. 18.

[a] Ego meo Ciceroni,
 quoniam Roma caremus, Ar-pini potissimum togam puram
 dedi, idque municipibus no-
 stris fuit gratum—ib. 19.

WHILE Cæsar was on the road towards Rome, young Quintus Cicero, the nephew, a fiery giddy youth, privately wrote to him to offer his service, with a promise of some information concerning his uncle; upon which, being sent for and admitted to an audience, he assured Cæsar, *that his Uncle was utterly disaffected to all his measures, and determined to leave Italy and go to Pompey.* The boy was tempted to this rashness by the hopes of a considerable present, and gave much uneasiness by it both to the Father and the Uncle, who had reason to fear some ill consequence from it [b]: but Cæsar desiring still to divert Cicero from declaring against him, and to quiet the apprehensions which he might entertain for what was past, took occasion to signify to him in a kind Letter from Rome, that he retained *no resentment of his refusal to come to the City, though Tullus and Servius complained, that he had not shewn the same indulgence to them——ridiculous men,* says Cicero, *who, after sending their sons to besiege Pompey at Brundisium, pretend to be scrupulous about going to the Senate* [c].

CICERO's behaviour however, and residence in those villa's of his, which were nearest to the sea,

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

[b] Litteras ejus ad Cæsarem missas ita graviter tulimus, ut te quidem celaremus——tantum scito post Hirtium conventum, arcessitum, ab Cæsare; cum eo de meo animo ab suis consiliis alienissimo, & consilio relinquendi Italiam—ib. 10. 4, 5, &c.

Quintum puerum accepi vehementer. Avaritiam video fuisse, & spem magni congiarii. Magnum hoc malum est.—ib. 10. 7.

[c] Cæsar mihi ignoscit per litteras, quod non Romam venerim, se seque in optimam partem id accipere dicit. Facile patior, quod scribit, secum Tullum & Servium questos esse, quia non idem sibi, quod mihi remisisset. Homines ridiculos, qui cum filios misissent ad Cn. Pompeium circumfidendum, ipsi in senatum venire dubitarent. Ib. 10. 3.

A. Urb. 704. gave rise to a general report, that he was waiting
 Cic. 58. onely for a wind to carry him over to Pompey ;
 Coss. upon which Cæsar sent him another pressing Letter,
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. to try, if possible, to dissuade him from that
 L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS. step.

Cæsar Emperor, to Cicero Emperor.

“ Though I never imagined that you would do
 “ any thing rashly or imprudently, yet moved by
 “ common report, I thought proper to write to
 “ you, and beg of you by our mutual affection,
 “ that you would not run to a declining cause,
 “ whither you did not think fit to go while it
 “ stood firm. For you will do the greatest injury
 “ to our friendship, and consult but ill for
 “ yourself, if you do not follow, where fortune
 “ calls : for all things seem to have succeeded most
 “ prosperously for us, most unfortunately for
 “ them : nor will you be thought to have followed
 “ the cause, (since that was the same, when
 “ you chose to withdraw yourself from their coun-
 “ cils) but to have condemned some act of mine ;
 “ than which you can do nothing that could
 “ affect me more sensibly, and what I beg by
 “ the rights of our friendship, that you would
 “ not do. Lastly, what is more agreeable to
 “ the character of an honest, quiet man, and
 “ good Citizen, than to retire from civil broils ?
 “ from which some, who would gladly have
 “ done it, have been deterred by an apprehen-
 “ sion of danger : but you, after a full testimony
 “ of my life, and trial of my friendship, will
 “ find nothing more safe or more reputable, than
 “ to keep yourself clear from all this contention.
 “ The 16th of April on the road [d].”

[d] Ad Att. x. 8.

ANTONY

ANTONY also, whom Cæsar left to guard Italy in his absence, wrote to him to the same purpose, and on the same day.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.

C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.

Antonius Tribun of the people and Proprætor, to Cicero Emperor.

L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

“ If I had not a great esteem for you, and
“ much greater indeed than you imagine, I
“ should not be concerned at the report which
“ is spread of you, especially when I take it to
“ be but false. But out of the excess of my af-
“ fection, I cannot dissemble, that even a report,
“ though false, makes some impression on me.
“ I cannot believe that you are preparing to cross
“ the sea, when you have such a value for Dola-
“ bella, and your daughter Tullia, that excel-
“ lent woman, and are so much valued by us all,
“ to whom in truth your dignity and honor are
“ almost dearer than to yourself: yet I did not
“ think it the part of a friend not to be moved
“ by the discourse even of ill-designing men,
“ and wrote this with the greater inclination, as
“ I take my part to be the more difficult on the
“ account of our late coldness, occasioned rather
“ by my jealousy, than any injury from you.
“ For I desire you to assure yourself, that nobo-
“ dy is dearer to me than you, excepting my
“ Cæsar, and that I know also that Cæsar
“ reckons M. Cicero in the first class of his
“ friends. Wherefore I beg of you, my Ci-
“ cero, that you will keep yourself free and un-
“ determined, and despise the fidelity of that
“ man who first did you an injury, that he might
“ afterwards do you a kindness; nor fly from
“ him, who, though he should not love you,
“ which is impossible, yet will always desire to
“ see you in safety and splendor. I have sent

- A. Urb. 704. " Calpurnius to you with this, the most inti-
 Cic. 58. " mate of my friends, that you might perceive
 Coss. " the great concern which I have for your life
 C. CLAUDIUS " and dignity [*e*]."
 MARCELLUS. " CAELIUS also wrote to him on the same sub-
 L. CORNELI- " ject; but finding by some hints in Cicero's an-
 US LENTU- " swer, that he was actually preparing to run away
 LUS CRUS. " to Pompey, he sent him a second Letter, in a
 " most pathetic, or, as Cicero calls it, *lamentable*
 " *strain* [*f*], in hopes to work upon him by alarm-
 " ing all his fears.

Caelius to Cicero.

" BEING in a consternation at your Letter,
 " by which you shew that you are meditating
 " nothing but what is dismal, yet neither tell
 " me directly what it is, nor wholly hide it from
 " me, I presently wrote this to you. By all
 " your fortunes, Cicero, by your children, I
 " beg and beseech you, not to take any step in-
 " jurious to your safety: for I call the gods and
 " men, and our friendship to witness, that what
 " I have told, and forewarned you of, was not
 " any vain conceit of my own, but after I had
 " talked with Cæsar, and understood from him,
 " how he resolved to act after his victory, I in-
 " formed you of what I had learnt. If you
 " imagine that his conduct will always be the
 " same, in dismissing his enemies and offering
 " conditions, you are mistaken: he thinks and
 " even talks of nothing but what is fierce and
 " severe, and is gone away much out of humor
 " with the Senate, and thoroughly provoked by
 " the opposition which he has met with, nor will

[*e*] Ibid.

scriptam miserabiliter — ib.

[*f*] M. Cælii epistolam x. 9.

" there

“ there be any room for mercy. Wherefore, if you
 “ yourself, your onely son, your house, your
 “ remaining hopes be dear to you: if I, if
 “ the worthy man, your son-in-law, have any
 “ weight with you, you should not desire to
 “ overturn our fortunes, and force us to hate or
 “ to relinquish that cause in which our safety
 “ consists, or to entertain an impious wish against
 “ yours. Lastly, reflect on this, that you have
 “ already given all the offence which you can
 “ give, by staying so long behind; and now to
 “ declare against a Conqueror, whom you would
 “ not offend, while his cause was doubtful, and
 “ to fly after those who run away, with whom
 “ you would not join, while they were in con-
 “ dition to resist, is the utmost folly. Take
 “ care, that while you are ashamed not to ap-
 “ prove yourself, one of the best Citizens, you
 “ be not too hasty in determining what is the
 “ best. But if I cannot wholly prevail with
 “ you, yet wait at least till you know how we
 “ succede in Spain, which, I now tell you, will
 “ be ours as soon as Cæsar comes thither. What
 “ hopes they may have when Spain is lost, I
 “ know not; and what your view can be in ac-
 “ ceding to a desperate cause, by my faith I
 “ cannot find out. As to the thing, which you
 “ discover to me by your silence about it, Cæsar
 “ has been informed of it; and after the first sa-
 “ lutation, told me presently what he had heard
 “ of you: I denied that I knew any thing of
 “ the matter, but begged of him to write to
 “ you in a manner the most effectual, to make
 “ you stay. He carries me with him into Spain;
 “ if he did not, I would run away to you where-
 “ ever you are, before I came to Rome, to dis-
 “ pute this point with you in person, and hold

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 C. CLAUDIUS
 MARCELLUS.
 L. CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS CRUS.

- A. Urb. 704. “ you fast even by force. Consider, Cicero,
 Cic. 58. “ again and again, that you do not utterly ruin
 Coff. “ both you and yours; that you do not know-
 C. CLAUDIUS “ ingly and willingly throw yourself into diffi-
 MARCELLUS. “ culties, whence you see no way to extricate
 L. CORNELI- “ yourself. But if either the reproaches of the
 US LENTU- “ better sort touch you, or you cannot bear the
 LUS CRUS. “ insolence and haughtiness of a certain set of
 “ men, I would advise you to chuse some place
 “ remote from the war, till these contests be
 “ over, which will soon be decided: if you do
 “ this, I shall think that you have done wisely,
 “ and you will not offend Cæsar [g].

CAELIUS's advice, as well as his practice, was grounded upon a maxim, which he had before advanced in a Letter to Cicero, *that in a public diffension, as long as it was carried on by civil methods, one ought to take the honestest side; but when it came to arms, the stronger; and to judge that the best which was the safest [h].* Cicero was not of his opinion, but governed himself in this, as he generally did, in all other cases, by a contrary rule; *that where our duty and our safety interfere, we should adhere always to what is right, whatever danger we incur by it.*

CURIO paid Cicero a friendly visit of two days about this time on his way towards Sicily, the command of which Cæsar had committed to him. Their conversation turned on the unhappy condition of the times, and the impending miseries of the war, in which Curio was open, and without any reserve, in talking of Cæsar's

[g] Ep. fam. 8. 16.

[h] Illud te non arbitror fugere; quin homines in diffensione domestica debeant, quamdiu civiliter sine armis

cernetur, honestiorem sequi partem: ubi ad bellum & castra ventum sit, firmiorem: & id melius statuere, quod tutius sit. Ep. fam. 8. 14.

views : “ He exhorted Cicero to chuse some
 “ neutral place for his retreat ; assured him, that
 “ Cæsar would be pleased with it ; offered him
 “ all kind of accommodation and safe passage
 “ through Sicily ; made not the least doubt, but
 “ that Cæsar would soon be master of Spain,
 “ and then follow Pompey with his whole force,
 “ and that Pompey’s death would be the end of
 “ the war : but confessed withal, that he saw
 “ no prospect or glimmering of hope for the
 “ Republic : said, that Cæsar was so provoked
 “ by the Tribun Metellus at Rome, that he
 “ had a mind to have killed him, as many of
 “ his friends advised ; that if he had done it,
 “ a great slaughter would have ensued ; that
 “ his clemency flowed, not from his natural
 “ disposition, but because he thought it po-
 “ pular ; and if he once lost the affections of
 “ the people, he would be cruel : that he was
 “ disturbed to see the people so disgusted by his
 “ seizing the public treasure ; and though he
 “ had resolved to speak to them before he left
 “ Rome, yet he durst not venture upon it for
 “ fear of some affront , and went away at last
 “ much discomposed [i].”

THE leaving *the public treasure at Rome a prey*
to Cæsar, is censured more than once by Cicero,
 as one of the blunders of his friends [k] : but it
 is a common case in civil dissensions, for the
 honest side, through the fear of discrediting
 their cause by any irregular act, to ruin it by an
 unseasonable moderation. The public money
 was kept *in the temple of Saturn* ; and the Con-
 suls contented themselves with *carrying away the*
keys, fancying, that the sanctity of the place

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAUDIUS
 MARCELLUS.
 L. CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS CRUS.

[i] Ad Att. x. 4.

[k] Ib. 7. 12, 15.

A. Urb. 704. would secure it from violence; especially when
 Cic. 58. the greatest part of it was a *fund of a sacred kind*,
 Coff. *set apart by the laws for occasions onely of the last*
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. *exigency, or the terror of a Gallic invasion* [1].
 L. CORNELI- Pompey was sensible of the mistake, when it
 US LENTU- was too late, and sent instructions to the Con-
 LVS CRUS. suls to go back and fetch away *this sacred trea-*
sure: but Cæsar was then so far advanced, that
 they durst not venture upon it; and Lentulus
 coldly sent him word, *that he himself should first*
march against Cæsar into Picenum, that they might
be able to do it with safety [m]. Cæsar had none
 of these scruples; but as soon as he came to
 Rome, ordered “the door of the Temple to
 “be broken open, and the money to be seized
 “for his own use; and had like to have killed
 “the Tribun Metellus,” who trusting to the
 authority of his office, was silly enough to at-
 tempt to hinder him. He found there an im-
 mense treasure, “both in coin and wedges of
 “solid gold, reserved from the spoils of con-
 “quered nations from the time even of the
 “Punic war: for the Republic, *as Pliny says*,
 “had never been richer than it was at this
 “day [n].”

CICERO was now impatient to be gone, and
 the more so, on account of the inconvenient
 pomp of *his Laurel, and Liçtors and stile of*
Emperor; which in a time of that jealousy and
 distraction exposed him too much to the eyes of
 the public, as well as to *the taunts and raillery*

[1] Dio. p. 161.

[m] C. Cassius—attulit
 mandata ad Consules, ut Ro-
 mam venirent, pecuniam de
 sanctiore ærario auferrent—
 Consul rescripsit, ut prius

ipse in Picenum—ad Att. 7.
 21.

[n] Nec fuit aliis tempo-
 ribus Respub. locupletior.
 Plin. Hist. 33. 3.

of his enemies [o]. He resolved to cross the sea to Pompey; yet knowing all his motions to be narrowly watched, took pains to conceal his intention, especially from Antony, who resided at this time in his neighbourhood, and kept a strict eye upon him. He sent him word therefore by Letter, that he had “no design against Cæsar; “that he remembered his friendship, and his “son-in-law Dolabella; that if he had other “thoughts, he could easily have been with “Pompey; that his chief reason for retiring “was to avoid the uneasiness of appearing in “public with the formality of his Lictors [p].” But Antony wrote him a surly answer; which Cicero calls a *Laconic Mandate*, and sent a copy of it to Atticus, to let him see, he says, how tyrannically it was drawn.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

“How sincere is your way of acting? for “he, who has a mind to stand neuter, stays at “home; he, who goes abroad seems to pass a “judgment on the one side or the other. But “it does not belong to me to determine, whe- “ther a man may go abroad or not. Cæsar has “imposed this task upon me, not to suffer any “man to go out of Italy. Wherefore it signi- “fies nothing for me to approve your resoluti- “on, if I have no power to indulge you in it. “I would have you write to Cæsar, and ask “that favor of him: I do not doubt but you

[o] Accedit etiam molesta hæc pompa lictorum meorum, nomenque imperii quo appellor. — sed incurrit hæc nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed jam etiam in vultus malevolorum — Ep. fam. 2. 16.

scripsissem, nihil me contra Cæsaris rationes cogitare; meminisse me generi mei, meminisse amicitiae, potuisse si aliter sentirem, esse cum Pompeio, me autem, quia cum lictoribus invitus cursarem, abesse velle — ad Att. x. 10.

[p] Cum ego sæpissime

“will

A. Urb. 704. "will obtain it, especially since you promise to
Cic. 58. "retain a regard for our friendship [q]."
Coff.

C. CLAUDIUS AFTER this Letter, Antony never came to see
MARCELLUS, him, but sent an excuse, *that he was ashamed to*
L. CORNELI- *do it, because he took him to be angry with him,*
US LENTU- giving him to understand at the same time by
LUS CRUS. Trebatius, *that he had special orders to observe his*
motions [r].

THESE Letters give us the most sensible proof of the high esteem and credit in which Cicero flourished at this Time in Rome: when in a contest for Empire, which force alone was to decide, we see the Chiefs on both sides so solicitous to gain a man to their party, who had no peculiar skill in arms or talents for war: but his name and authority was the acquisition which they sought; since whatever was the fate of their arms, the world, they knew, would judge better of the cause which Cicero espoused. The same Letters will confute likewise in a great measure the common opinion of his want of resolution in all cases of difficulty, since no man could shew a greater than he did on the present occasion, when against the importunities of his friends, and all the invitations of a successful power, he chose to follow that cause which he thought the best, though he knew it to be the weakest.

DURING Cæsar's absence in Spain, Antony, who had nobody to controul him at home, gave a free course to his natural disposition, and indulged himself without reserve in all the ex-

[q] Ad Att. x. 10.

[r] Nominatim de me sibi
imperatum dicit Antonius,
nec me tamen ipse adhuc vi-
derat, sed hoc Trebatius nar-

ravit. Ib. x. 12.

Antonius—ad me misit, se
pudore deterritum ad me non
venisse, quod me sibi succen-
sere putaret—ib. x. 15.

cess

cess of lewdness and luxury. Cicero describing his usual equipage in travelling about Italy, says, “ he carries with him in an open Chaise the “ famed Actress Cytheris; his wife follows in a “ second, with seven other close Litters, full of “ his whores and boys. See by what base hands “ we fall; and doubt, if you can, whether Cæ- “ sar, let him come vanquished or victorious, “ will not make cruel work amongst us at his “ return. For my part, if I cannot get a ship, “ I will take a boat to transport myself out of “ their reach; but I shall tell you more after I “ have had a conference with Antony [s].” Among Antony’s other extravagances, he had the insolence to appear sometimes in public, *with his mistress Cytheris in a Chariot drawn by Lions*. Cicero alluding to this, in a Letter to Atticus, tells him jocosely, *that he need not be afraid of Antony’s Lions [t]*; for though the beasts were so fierce, the master himself was very tame.

PLINY speaks of this fact, *as a designed insult on the Roman people; as if by the emblem of the Lions, Antony intended to give them to understand, that the fiercest spirits of them would be forced to submit to the yoke [u]*: Plutarch also mentions it; but

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

[s] Hic tamen Cytheridem secum lectica aperta portat, altera uxorem: septem præterea conjunctæ lecticæ sunt amicarum, an amicorum? vide quam turpi leto pereamus: & dubita, si potes, quin ille seu victus, seu victor redierit, cædem facturum sit. Ego vero vel lintriculo, si navis non erit, eripiam me ex istorum parricidio. Sed plura

scribam cum illum convenero —ib. x. 10.

[t] Tu Antonii leones pertimescas, cave. Nihil est illo homine jucundius. Ib. x. 13.

[u] Jugo subdidit eos, primusque Romæ ad currum junxit Antonius; & quidem civili bello cum dimicatum esset in Pharsalicis campis; non sine ostento quodam tem-
porum

A. Urb. 704. but both of them place it *after the battle of*
 Cic. 58. *Pharsalia*, though it is evident from this hint of
 C. CLAUDIUS it given by Cicero, that it happened long be-
 MARCELLUS. fore.

L. CORNELI- WHILST Cicero continued at Formiæ, deli-
 US LENTU- berating on the measures of his conduct, he
 LUS CRUS. formed several *political theses's*, adapted to the
 circumstances of the times, for the amusement
 of his solitary hours: " Whether a man ought
 " to stay in his Country, when it was possessed
 " by a Tyrant: whether one ought not by all
 " means to attempt the dissolution of the Ty-
 " ranny, though the City on that account was
 " exposed to the utmost hazard: whether there
 " was not cause to be afraid of the man who
 " should dissolve it, lest he should advance him-
 " self into the other's place: whether we should
 " not help our country by the methods of peace,
 " rather than war: whether it be the part of a
 " Citizen to sit still in a neutral place, while
 " his country is oppressed, or to run all hazards
 " for the sake of the common liberty: whe-
 " ther one ought to bring a war upon his city,
 " and besiege it, when in the hands of a Ty-
 " rant: whether a man, not approving the dis-
 " solution of a Tyranny by war, ought not to
 " join himself however to the best Citizens:
 " whether one ought to act with his benefactors
 " and friends, though they do not in his opi-
 " nion take right measures for the public inte-
 " rest: whether a man, who has done great
 " services for his country, and for that reason

porum, generosos spiritus ju-
 gum subire illo prodigio fig-
 nificante: nam quod ita vec-
 tus est cum mima Cytheride,

supra monstra etiam illarum
 calamitatum fuit. — Plin.
 Hist. 8. 16.

“ has been envied and cruelly treated, is still
 “ bound to expose himself to fresh dangers for
 “ it, or may not be permitted at last to take
 “ care of himself and his family, and give up
 “ all political matters to the men of power——
 “ by exercising myself, *says he*, in these questions,
 “ and examining them on the one side and the
 “ other, I relieve my mind from its present an-
 “ xiety, and draw out something which may be
 “ of use to me [x].”

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAUDIUS
 MARCELLUS,
 L. CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS CRUS.

FROM the time of his leaving the City, to-
 gether with Pompey and the Senate, there passed
 not a single day in which he did not write *one or
 more Letters to Atticus* [y], the only friend whom
 he trusted with the secret of his thoughts. From
 these letters it appears, that the sum of At-
 ticus's advice to him agreed intirely with his
 own sentiments, *that if Pompey remained in Italy,*
he ought to join with him; if not, should stay behind,
and expect what fresh accidents might produce [z].
 This was what Cicero had hitherto followed;
 and as to his future conduct, though he seems
 sometimes to be a little wavering and irresolute,
 yet the result of his deliberations constantly turn-
 ed in favor of Pompey. His personal affection
 for the man, preference of his cause, the re-

[x] In his ego me consul-
 tationibus exercens, differens
 in utramque partem, tum
 græce tum latine, abduco pa-
 rumper animum a molestiis
 & τὸ πλεονέκτην τι delibero. Ad
 Att. 9. 4.

[y] Hujus autem epistolæ
 non solum ea causa est, ut ne
 quis a me dies intermittetur,
 quin dem ad te litteras, sed
 —ib. 8. 12.

Alteram tibi eodem die
 hanc epistolam dictavi, &
 pridie dederam mea manu
 longiorem—ib. x. 3.

[z] Ego quidem tibi non
 sim auctor, si Pompeius Ita-
 liam relinquit, te quoque
 profugere, summo enim peri-
 culo facies, nec Reipub pro-
 deris; cui quidem posterius
 poteris prodesse, si manseris
 —ib. 9. 10.

proaches

A. Urb. 704. proaches of the better sort, who began to censure
 Cic. 58. his tardiness, and above all, *his gratitude for fa-*
 Coff. *vors received*, which had ever the greatest weight
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, with him, made him resolve at all adventures to
 L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS. run after him; and though he was displeased with
 his management of the war, *and without any hopes*
of his success [a]; though he knew him before *to*
be no politician, and now perceived him, he says,
to be no general; yet with all his faults, he could
 not endure the thought of deserting him, nor
 hardly forgive himself for staying so long behind
 him; “For as in love, says he, any thing dirty
 “and indecent in a mistress will stifle it for the
 “present, so the deformity of Pompey’s con-
 “duct put me out of humor with him; but
 “now that he is gone, my love revives, and
 “I cannot bear his absence, &c. [b].”

WHAT held him still a while longer was *the*
tears of his family, and the remonstrances of his
daughter Tullia; who entreated him *to wait onely*
the issue of the Spanish war, and urged it as the
advice of Atticus [c]. He was passionately fond
 of this daughter; and with great reason; for she
 was a woman of singular accomplishments, with

[a] Ingrati animi crimen
 horreo—ib. 9. 2, 5, 7.—

Nec mehercule hoc facio
 Reipub. causa, quam fundi-
 tus deletam puto, sed nequis
 me putet ingratum in eum,
 qui me levavit iis incommo-
 dis, quibus ipse affecerat—
 ib. 9. 19.

Fortunæ sunt committenda
 omnia. Sine spe conamur
 ullâ. Si melius quid acciderit
 mirabimur—ib. x. 2.

[b] Sicut ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικαῖς,
 alienant immundæ, infusæ,

indecoræ: sic me illius fugæ
 negligentiaque deformitas a-
 vertit ab amore—nunc e-
 mergit amor, nunc deside-
 rium ferre non possum. Ib.
 9. 10.

[c] Sed cum ad me mea
 Tullia scribat, orans, ut quid
 in Hispania geratur expectem,
 & semper adscribat idem vi-
 deri tibi—ib. x. 8.

Lacrymæ meorum me in-
 terdum molliunt, precantium,
 ut de Hispaniis expectemus—
 ib. x. 9.

the

the utmost affection and piety to him : speaking of her to Atticus, “ how admirable, says he, is “ her virtue ? how does she bear the public calamity ? how her domestic disgusts ? what a greatness of mind did she shew at my parting “ from them ? in spight of the tenderness of her “ love, she wishes me to do nothing but what “ is right, and for my honor [*d*].” But as to the affair of Spain, he answered, “ that whatever was the fate of it, it could not alter the “ case with regard to himself : for if Cæsar should “ be driven out of it, his journey to Pompey “ would be less welcome and reputable, since “ Curio himself would run over to him : or if the “ war was drawn into length, there would be no “ end of waiting : or lastly, if Pompey’s army “ should be beaten, instead of sitting still, as they “ advised, he thought just the contrary, and should “ chuse the rather to run away from the violence “ of such a victory. He resolved therefore, *he* “ says, to act nothing craftily : but whatever be- “ came of Spain, to find out Pompey as soon as “ he could, in conformity to Solon’s law, who “ made it capital for a Citizen not to take part “ in a civil dissension [*e*].”

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

[*d*] Cujus quidem virtus mirifica. Quomodo illa fert publicam cladem ? quomodo domesticas tricas ? quantus autem animus in discessu nostro ? fit σοφία, fit summa σπουδή ; tamen nos recte facere & bene audire vult. Ib. x. 8.

[*e*] Si pelletur, quam gratus aut quam honestus tum erit ad Pompeium noster adventus, cum ipsum Curionem ad ipsum transiturum putem ? si

trahitur bellum, quid expectem, aut quamdiu ? relinquatur, ut si vincimur in Hispania, quiescamus. Id ego contra puto : istum enim victorem relinquendum magis puto, quam victum—ibid.—

Astute nihil sum acturus ; fiat in Hispania quidlibet. Ib. x. 6.

Ego vero Solonis—legem negligam, qui capite sanxit, si qui in seditione non alterutrius partis fuisset—ib. x. 1.

BEFORE

A. Urb. 704. BEFORE his going off, Servius Sulpicius sent
 Cic. 58. him word from Rome, that *he had a great desire*
 Coff. *to have a conference with him, to consult in com-*
 C. CLAUDIUS *mon what measures they ought to take.* Cicero con-
 MARCELLUS, sented to it, in hopes to find Servius in the same
 L. CORNELI- mind with himself, and to have his company to
 US LENTU- Pompey's camp: for in answer to his message, he
 LUS CRUS. intimated his own intention of *leaving Italy*; and
 if Servius was not in the same resolution, advised
 him *to save himself the trouble of the journey, though*
if he had any thing of moment to communicate, he
would wait for his coming [f]. But at their
 meeting he found him so timorous and despond-
 ing, and so full of scruples upon every thing
 which was proposed, that instead of pressing him
 to the same conduct with himself, he found it
 necessary to conceal his own design from him:
 "of all the men, says he, whom I have met
 "with, he is alone a greater Coward than C.
 "Marcellus, who laments his having been
 "Consul; and urges Antony to hinder my
 "going, that he himself may stay with a better
 "grace [g]."

CATO, whom Pompey had sent to possess
 himself of Sicily, thought fit to quit that post,

[f] Sin autem tibi homi-
 ni prudentissimo videtur utile
 esse, nos colloqui, quanquam
 longius etiam cogitabam ab
 urbe discedere, cujus jam e-
 tiam nomen invitus audio,
 tamen propius accedam —
 Ep. fam. 4. 1.

Restat ut discedendum pu-
 tem; in quo reliqua videtur
 esse deliberatio, quod consili-
 um in discessu, quæ loca se-
 quamur — si habes jam statu-
 tum, quid tibi agendum pu-

tes, in quo non sit conjunc-
 tum consilium tuum cum meo,
 supersedeas hoc labore itine-
 ris — ib. 4. 2.

[g] Servii consilio nihil
 expeditur. Omnes captiones
 in omni sententia occurrunt.
 Unum C. Marcello cognovi
 timidiorem, quem Consullem
 fuisse pœnitet — qui etiam
 Antonium confirmasse dici-
 tur, ut me impediret, quo
 ipse, credo, honestius. — Ad
 Att. x. 15.

and yield up the Island to Curio, who came like-
 wife to seize it on Cæsar's part with a superior
 force. Cicero was much scandalized at Cato's
 conduct, being persuaded that he might have
 held his possession without difficulty, and that
 all honest men would have flocked to him, espe-
 cially *when Pompey's fleet was so near to support*
him: for if that had but once appeared on the
 coast, and begun to act, Curio himself as he
 confessed, *would have run away the first*. I wish,
 says Cicero, *that Cotta may hold out Sardinia as it*
is said he will: for if so, *how base will Cato's act*
appear [b].

In these Circumstances, while he was pre-
 paring all things for his voyage, and waiting
 onely for a fair wind, he removed from his Cu-
 man to his Pompeian Villa beyond Naples, which,
 not being so commodious for an embarkment,
 would help to lessen the suspicion of his intended
 flight [i]. Here he received a private message
 from the Officers of three Cohorts, which were
 in garrison at Pompeii, to beg leave to wait upon
 him the day following, in order to deliver up
 their troops and the town into his hands; but
 instead of listening to the overture, he slipped away
 the next morning before day to avoid seeing them;
 since such a force or a greater could be of no ser-

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAUDIUS
 MARCELLUS,
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LENTU-
 LUS CRUS.

[b] Curio mecum vixit—
 Siciliæ diffidens, si Pompeius
 navigare cœpisset—ib. x. 7.

Curio—Pompeii classem ti-
 mebat: quæ si esset, se de Si-
 cilia abiturum. Ib. x. 4.

Cato qui Siciliam tenere
 nullo negotio potuit, & si te-
 nuisset, omnes boni ad eum
 se contulissent, Syracusis pro-
 fectus est a. d. 8. Kal. Maii

—utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta
 Sardiniam teneat. Est enim
 rumor. O, si id fuerit, tur-
 pem Catonem!—ib. x. 16.

[i] Ego ut minuerim sus-
 picionem professionis,—pro-
 fectus sum in Pompeianum
 a. d. 1111 Id. Ut ibi essem,
 dum quæ ad navigandum o-
 pus essent, pararentur. Ib.

A. Urb. 704. vice there; and he was apprehensive that it was
Cic. 58. designed onely as a trap for him [k].
Coff.

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. Thus pursuing at last the result of all his de-
L. CORNELI- liberations, and preferring the consideration of
US LENTU- duty to that of his safety, he embarked to fol-
LUS CRUS. low Pompey; and though from the nature of
the war, he plainly saw and declared, “ that it
“ was a contention onely for rule; yet he
“ thought *Pompey the modest, honest and*
“ *juster King of the two*; and if he did not con-
“ quer, that the very name of the Roman peo-
“ ple would be extinguished; or if he did, that
“ it would still be after the manner and pattern
“ of Sylla, with much cruelty and blood [l].”
With these melancholy reflections he set sail *on*
the eleventh of June [m], “ rushing, as he tells
“ us

[k] Cum ad villam venis-
sem, ventum est ad me, Cen-
turiones trium Cohortium,
quæ Pompeiis sunt, me velle
postridie; hæc mecum Nin-
nius noster, velle eos mihi se,
& oppidum tradere. Atego
tibi postridie a villa ante lu-
cem, ut me omnino illi non
viderunt. Quid enim erat
in tribus cohortibus? quid si
plures, quo apparatu?—& si-
mul fieri poterat, ut tentare-
mur. Omnem igitur suspi-
cionem sustuli—ibid.

[l] Dominatio quæsitâ ab
utroque est. Ib. 8. 11.

Regnandi contentio est; in
qua pulsus est modestior Rex
& probior & integrior; &
is, qui nisi vincit, nomen po-
puli Romani deleatur necesse
est: sin autem vincit, Sylla-

no more, exemploque vincet
—ib. x. 7.

[m] a. d. 111. Id. Jun. Ep.
fam. 14. 7. It is remark-
able, that among the reasons,
which detained Cicero in Ita-
ly longer than he intended,
he mentions the *tempestuous*
weather of the Equinox, and
the calms that succeeded it; yet
this was about the end of
May [ad Att. x. 17. 18.]
which shews what a strange
confusion there was at this
time in the Roman Kalendar;
and what necessity for that
reformation of it, which Cæ-
sar soon after effected, in or-
der to reduce the computation
of their months to the regular
course of the seasons from
which they had so widely var-
ied. Some of the commen-
tators,

“ us, knowingly and willingly into voluntary
 “ destruction, and doing just what cattel do
 “ when driven by any force, running after those
 “ of his own kind; for as the ox, *says he*, fol-
 “ lows the herd, so I follow the honest, or
 “ those at least, who are called so, though it be
 “ to certain ruin [n].” As to his brother Quintus, he was so far from desiring his company in this flight, that *he pressed him to stay in Italy* on account of his personal obligations to Cæsar, and the relation he had born to him: yet Quintus would not be left behind; but declared, *that he would follow his Brother, whithersoever he should lead, and think that party right which he should chuse for him* [o].

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAUDIUS
 MARCELLUS.
 L. CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS CRUS.

WHAT gave Cicero a more particular abhorrence of the war, into which he was entering, was, to see Pompey on all occasions affecting to imitate Sylla, and to hear him often say with a superior air, *could Sylla do such a thing, and cannot I do it?* as if determined to make Sylla's victory the pattern of his own. He was now in much the same circumstances in which that Conqueror

tators, for want of attending to this cause, are strangely puzzled to account for the difficulty; and one of them ridiculously imagines, that by the *Equinox*, Cicero covertly means Antony, who used to make *his days and nights equal*, by sleeping as much as he waked.—

[n] Ego prudens ac sciens ad pestem ante oculos positam tum profectus. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.]

Prudens & sciens tanquam ad interitum ruerem volunta-

rium. [pro M. Marcel. 5.] quid ergo acturus es? idem, quod pecudes, quæ dispulsæ sui generis sequuntur greges. Ut bos armenta, sic ego bonos viros, aut eos, quicunque dicentur boni, sequar, etiam si ruent—ad Att. 7. 7.

[o] Fratrem—socium hujus fortunæ esse non erat æquum: cui magis etiam Cæsar irascetur. Sed impetrare non possum, ut maneat. [ib. 9. 1.] frater, quicquid mihi placeret, id rectum se putare aiebat. Ib. 9. 6.

A. Urb. 704. had once been; sustaining the cause of the Senate by his arms, and treated as an enemy by those who possessed Italy; and as he flattered himself with the same good fortune, so he was meditating the same kind of return, and threatening ruin and proscription to all his enemies. This frequently shocked Cicero, as we find from many of his Letters, to consider with what cruelty and effusion of civil blood the success even of his own friends would certainly be attended [p].

Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

WE have no account of the manner and circumstances of his voyage, or by what course he steered towards Dyrrachium; for after his leaving Italy, all his correspondence with it was in great measure cut off, so that from June, in which he sailed, we find an intermission of about nine months in the series of his Letters, and not more than four of them written to Atticus during the continuance of the war [q]. He arrived however safely in Pompey's camp with *his son, his brother, and nephew*, committing the fortunes of the whole family to the issue of that cause: and that he might make some amends for coming so late, and gain the greater authority with his party, *he furnished Pompey, who was in great want of money, with a large sum out of his own stock for the public service* [r].

[p] Quam crebro illud, *Sylla potuit, ego non potero?*—

Ita *Syllaturit* animus ejus, & *proscripturit* diu. [Att. 9. x.] Cnæus noster *Syllani regni* similitudinem concupivit, εἰ-
δὼς σοι λέγω. [ib. 7.] ut non nominatim sed generatim proscriptio esset informata. Ib. xi. 9.

[q] Vid. Ad Att. xi. 1, 2,

3, 4.

[r] Et si egeo rebus omnibus, quod is quoque in angustiis est, quicum sumus, cui magnam dedimus pecuniam mutuam, opinantes nobis, constitutis rebus, eam rem etiam honore fore. [ib. xi. 3.] si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum, cum id videbamus sapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13.

BUT

BUT as he entered into the war with reluctance, so he found nothing in it but what increased his disgust: he disliked every thing *which they had done, or designed to do; saw nothing good amongst them but their cause*; and that their own counsels would ruin them: for all the chiefs of the party trusting to the superior fame and authority of Pompey, and dazzled with the splendor of the troops, which the Princes of the East had sent to their assistance, assured themselves of victory; and, without reflecting on the different character of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. It was Cicero's business therefore to discourage this wild spirit, and to represent the hazard of the war, the force of Cæsar, and the probability of his beating them, if ever they ventured a battel with him: but all his remonstrances were slighted, and *he himself reproached as timorous and cowardly by the other Leaders: though nothing afterwards happened to them, but what he had often foretold* [s]. This soon made him repent of embarking in a cause so imprudently conducted; and it added to his discontent, to find himself even *blamed by Cato for coming to them at all*; and deserting that neutral post, which might have given him the better opportunity of bringing about an accommodation [t].

IN this disagreeable situation he declined all employment, and finding his counsils wholly

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

[s] Quippe mihi nec quæ accidunt, nec quæ aguntur, ullo modo probantur. [ib. xi. 4.] nihil boni præter causam. [Ep. fam. 7. 3.] itaque ego, quem tum fortes illi viri, Domitii & Lentuli, timidum esse dicebant, &c. [ib. 6. 21.] quo quidem in bello, ni-

hil adversi accidit non prædicente me. Ib. 6.

[t] Cujus me mei facti pœnituit, non tam propter periculum meum, quam propter vitia multa, quæ ibi offendi, quo veneram. Ib. 7. 3.—Plutar. in Cic.

- A. Urb. 704. slighted, resumed his usual way of raillery, and
 Cic. 58. what he could not dissuade by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his *jest*s. This
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. gave occasion afterwards to Antony, in a speech
 L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS. to the Senate, to censure the levity of his behaviour in the calamity of a civil war, and to reflect not only upon his fears, but the unseasonableness also of his *jokes*: to which Cicero answered, “ that
 “ though their camp indeed was full of care
 “ and anxiety, yet in circumstances the most
 “ turbulent, there were certain moments of relaxation, which all men, who had any humanity in them, were glad to lay hold on: but
 “ while Antony reproached him both with detestation and joking at the same time, it was a
 “ sure proof that he had observed a proper temper and moderation in them both [u].

[u] Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus eo magis, quod ita nihil poterat agi, ut mihi & meis rebus aptum esset. [Att. xi. 4.] Quod autem idem mœsticiam meam reprehendit idem jocum; magno argumento est, me in utroque fuisse moderatum. Phil. 2. 16.

Some of Cicero's sayings on this occasion are preserved by different writers. When Pompey put him in mind of his coming so late to them: how can I come late, said he, when I find nothing in readiness among you?— and upon Pompey's asking him sarcastically, where his son-in-law Dolabella was; he is with your Father-in-law, replied he. To a person new-

ly arrived from Italy, and informing them of a strong report at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up by Cæsar; and you sailed hither therefore, said he, that you might see it with your own eyes. And even after their defeat, when Nonnius was exhorting them to courage, because there were seven eagles still left in Pompey's camp; you encourage well, said he, if we were to fight with Jackdaws. By the frequency of these splenetic jokes, he is said to have provoked Pompey so far as to tell him, I wish that you would go over to the other side, that you may begin to fear us. Vid. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Plutar. in Cicer.

YOUNG Brutus was also in Pompey's camp, where he distinguished himself by a peculiar zeal: which Cicero mentions as the more remarkable, because he had always professed *an irreconcilable hatred to Pompey, as to the murderer of his Father* [x]. But he followed the cause, not the man; sacrificing all his resentments to the service of his country, and looking now upon Pompey *as the General of the Republic*, and the defender of their common liberty.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS
CRUS.

DURING the course of this war Cicero never speaks of Pompey's conduct but *as a perpetual succession of blunders*. His first step of *leaving Italy* was condemned indeed by all, *but particularly by Atticus*; yet to us at this distance, it seems not onely to have been prudent, but necessary [y]. What shocked people so much at it was the discovery that it made of his weakness and want of preparation; and after the security which he had all along affected, and the defiance so oft declared against his adversary, it made him appear contemptible to run away at last on the first approach of Cæsar: "Did you ever see, says Cælius, a more silly creature than this Pompey of yours; who, after raising all this bustle, is found to be such a trifler? or did you ever read or hear of a man more vigourous in action, more temperate in victory, than our Cæsar [z]?"

U 4

POMPEY

[x] Brutus amicus in causa versatur acriter. Ad Att. xi.

4. Vid. Plutar. in Brut. & Pomp.

[y] Quorum dux quam ἀσφαλίζησας, tu quoque animadvertis, cui ne Picena quidem nota sunt: quam autem sine concilio, res testis. Ad

Att. 7. 13.

Si iste Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male, & ut ego existimo ἀλογίως, &c. ib. 9. 10.

[z] Ecquando tu hominem ineptiorem quam tuum Cn. Pompeium vidisti? qui tantas turbas, qui tam nugax esset commoritur? ecquem au-

tem

A. Urb. 704.

Cic. 58.

Coff.

C. CLAUDIUS

MARCELLUS.

L. CORNELI-

US LENTU-

LUS CRUS.

POMPEY had left Italy about a year before Cæsar found it convenient to go after him; during which time he had gathered a vast fleet from all the *maritime States and Cities dependent on the Empire*, without making any use of it to distress an enemy who had no fleet at all: he suffered Sicily and Sardinia to fall into Cæsar's hands, without a blow; and the important town of Marfeilles, after having endured a long siege for its affection to his cause: but his capital error was the giving up Spain, and neglecting to put himself at the head of the best army that he had, in a country devoted to his interests, and commodious for the operations of his naval force: when Cicero first heard of this resolution, he thought it *monstrous* [a]; and in truth, the committing that war to his Lieutenants against the superior genius and ascendant of Cæsar, was the ruin of his best troops and hopes at once.

SOME have been apt to wonder, why Cæsar, after forcing Pompey out of Italy, instead of crossing the sea after him, when he was in no condition to resist, should leave him for the space of a year to gather armies and fleets at his leisure, and strengthen himself, with all the forces of the East. But Cæsar had good reasons for what he did: he knew that all the troops, which could be drawn together from those countries, were no match for his; that if he had pursued him directly to Greece, and driven him out of it, as he

tem Cæsare nostro acriorem in rebus agendis, eodem in victoria temperatiorem, aut legisti aut audisti? Ep. fam. 8. 15.

[a] Omnis hæc classis A-lexandria, Colchis, Tyro, Sidone, Cypro, Pamphylia, Ly-

cia, Rhodo, &c. ad intercludendos Italix commeatus—comparatur—ad Att. 9. 9.

Nunciat Ægyptum—cogitare; Hispanium abjecisse. Monstra narrant—ad Att. 9. 11.

had done out of Italy, he should have driven him probably into Spain, where of all places he desired the least to meet him; and where in all events Pompey had a sure resource, as long as it was possessed by a firm and veteran army; which it was Cæsar's business therefore to destroy in the first place, or he could expect no success from the war; and there was no opportunity of destroying it so favorably, as when Pompey himself was at such a distance from it. This was the reason of his marching back with so much expedition to find, as he said, *an army without a General, and return to a General without an army* [b]. The event shewed, that he judged right; for within forty days from the first sight of his enemy in Spain, he made himself master of the whole Province [c].

AFTER the reduction of Spain, he was created Dictator by M. Lepidus, then Prætor at Rome, and by his Dictatorial power declared himself Consul, with P. Servilius Isauricus; but he was no sooner invested with this office, than he marched to Brundisium, and embarked on the fourth of January, in order to find out Pompey. The carrying about in his person the supreme dignity of the Empire, added no small authority to his cause, by making the Cities and States abroad the more cautious of acting against him, or giving them a better pretence at least *for opening their gates to the Consul of Rome*—[d]. Cicero all this while despairing of any good from

[b] Ire se ad exercitum sine duce, & inde reversurum ad ducem sine exercitu. Sueton. J. Cæs. 34.

[c] Cæs. Comment. l. 2.

[d] Illi se daturus negare, neque portas Consuli præclusuros. Cæs. Comm. l. 3. 590.

A. Urb. 705. the war, had been using all his endeavours to
 Cic. 59. dispose his friends to peace, till Pompey forbid
 Coss. any farther mention of it in council, declaring,
 C. JULIUS that he valued neither life nor country, for which
 CÆSAR II. he must be indebted to Cæsar, as the world must take
 P. SERVILIUS the case to be, should he accept any conditions in his
 VATIA ISAU- present circumstances [e]. He was sensible that he
 RICUS. had hitherto been acting a contemptible part, and
 done nothing equal to the great name which he
 had acquired in the world ; and was determined
 therefore, to retrieve his honour before he laid
 down his arms, by the destruction of his adver-
 sary, or to perish in the attempt.

DURING the blockade of Dyrrhachium, it
 was a current notion in Cæsar's army, *that Pom-
 pey would draw off his troops into his ships, and
 remove the war to some distant place.* Upon this
 Dolabella, who was with Cæsar, sent a Letter to
 Cicero into Pompey's Camp, exhorting him,
 " that if Pompey should be driven from these
 " quarters, to seek some other country, he would
 " sit down quietly at Athens, or any City remote
 " from the war : that it was time to think of his
 " own safety, and be a friend to himself, rather
 " than to others : that he had now fully satisfied
 " his duty, his friendship, and his engagements to
 " that party, which he had espoused in the Re-
 " public : that there was nothing left, but to be,
 " where the Republic itself now was, rather than

[e] Desperans victoriam,
 primum cœpi suadere pacem,
 cujus fueram semper auctor ;
 deinde cum ab ea sententia
 Pompeius valde abhorreret.
 Ep. fam. 7. 3.

Vibullius — de Cæsar's
 mandatis agere instituit ; eum

ingressum in sermonem Pom-
 peius interpellavit, & loqui
 plura prohibuit. Quid mihi,
 inquit, aut vita aut civitate
 opus est, quam beneficio Cæ-
 saris habere videbor ? Cæs.
 Comm. 3. 596. .

“ by following that ancient one to be in none at
 “ all—— and that Cæsar would readily approve
 “ this conduct [*f*]:” but the war took a quite
 different turn; and instead of *Pompey’s running*
away from Dyrrbachium, Cæsar, by an unexpected
 defeat before it, was forced to retire the first,
 and leave to Pompey the credit of pursuing him,
 as in a kind of flight towards Macedonia.

WHILE the two armies were thus employed,
 Cælius, now Prætor at Rome, trusting to his
 power, and the success of his party, began to
 publish several violent and odious laws, especially
 one *for the cancelling of all debts* [*g*]. This raised
 a great flame in the City, till he was over-ruled
 and deposed from his magistracy by the Consul
 Servilius, and the Senate: but being made desperate
 by this affront, he recalled Milo from his
 exile at Marseilles, whom Cæsar had refused to
 restore; and in concert with him, resolved to
 raise some public commotion in favor of Pompey.
 In this disposition he wrote his last Letter to Ci-
 cero; in which, after an account of his conver-
 sion, and the service which he was projecting,
 “ You are asleep, says he, and do not know how
 “ open and weak we are here: what are you do-
 “ ing? are you waiting for a battle, which is
 “ sure to be against you? I am not acquainted
 “ with your troops; but ours have been long used
 “ to fight hard; and to bear cold and hunger with

A. Urb. 705.
 Cic. 59.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR II.
 P. SERVILIUS
 VATTIA ISAU-
 RICUS.

[*f*] Illud autem a te peto,
 ut, si jam ille evitaverit hoc
 periculum, & se abdiderit in
 classem, tu tuis rebus consu-
 las: & aliquando tibi potius
 quam cuivis, sis amicus. Sa-
 tis factum est jam a te vel
 officio, vel familiaritati; fa-
 tisfactum etiam partibus, &

ei Reipub. quam tu probabas.
 Reliquum est, ubi nunc est
 Respub. ibi sumus potius,
 quam dum veterem illam se-
 quamur, sumus in nulla. Ep.
 fam. 9. 9.

[*g*] Cæf. Comment. 3.
 600.

A. Urb. 705. "ease [*b*]." But this disturbance, which began
 Cic. 59. to alarm all Italy, was soon ended by the death
 Coss. of the Authors of it, Milo and Cælius; who
 C. JULIUS perished in their rash attempt, being destroyed
 CÆSAR II. by the soldiers, whom they were endeavouring
 P. SERVILIUS to debauch. They had both attached themselves
 V. ATIA ISAU- very early to the interests and the authority of
 RICUS. Cicero, and were qualified by their parts and for-
 tunes to have made a principal figure in the Re-
 public, if they had continued in those sentiments,
 and adhered to his advice; but their passions,
 pleasures, and ambition got the ascendant; and
 through a factious and turbulent life hurried them
 on to this wretched fate.

ALL thoughts of peace being now laid aside,
 Cicero's next advice to Pompey was, to draw the
 war into length, nor ever to give Cæsar the op-
 portunity of a battel. Pompey approved this
 counsil, and pursued it for some time, till he
 gained the advantage above-mentioned before
 Dyrrhachium; which gave him such a confidence
 in his own troops, and such a contempt of Cæ-
 sar's, "that from this moment, says Cicero,
 "this great man ceased to be a General; op-
 "posed a raw, new-raised army, to the most ro-
 "bust and veteran Legions; was shamefully
 "beaten; and, with the loss of his Camp, forced
 "to fly away alone [*i*]."

[*b*] Vos dormitis, nec hæc adhuc mihi videmini intelligere, quam nos pateamus, & quam simus imbecilli—quid istuc facitis? prælium expectatis, quod firmissimum est? vestras copias non novi. Nostri valde depugnare, & facile algere & esurire consueverint. Ep. fam. 8. 17.

[*i*] Cum ab ea sententia

Pompeius valde abhorreret, suadere institui, ut bellum duceret: hoc interdum probabat & in ea sententia videbatur fore, & fuisset fortasse, nisi quadam ex pugna cœpisset militibus suis confidere. Ex eo tempore vir ille summus nullus Imperator fuit: victus turpissime, amissis etiam castris, solus fugit. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

HAD

HAD Cicero's advice been followed, Cæsar A. Urb. 705.
must inevitably have been ruined: for Pompey's Cic. 59.
fleet would have cut off all supplies from him by C. JULIUS
sea; and it was not possible for him to subsist long CÆSAR II.
at land; while an enemy, superior in number of P. SERVILIUS
troops, was perpetually harassing him, and wast- V. V. ISAU-
ing the country: and the report every where RICUS.
spread of his flying from Dyrrhachium before a
victorious army, which was pursuing him, made
his march every way the more difficult, and the
people of the country more shy of assisting him:
till the despicable figure, that he seemed to make,
raised such an impatience for fighting, and assu-
rance of victory in the Pompeian chiefs, as drew
them to the fatal resolution of giving him battel
at Pharsalia. There was another motive likewise
suggested to us by Cicero, which seems to have
had no small influence in determining Pompey
to this unhappy step; his superstitious regard to
omens, and the admonitions of Diviners; to which
his nature was strongly addicted. The Haruspices
were all on his side, and flattered him with eve-
ry thing that was prosperous: and besides those
in his own camp, the whole fraternity of them
at Rome were sending him perpetual accounts of
the *fortunate and auspicious significations which they*
had observed in the entrails of their victims [k].

BUT after all, it must needs be owned, that
Pompey had a very difficult part to act, and much
less liberty of executing what he himself ap-
proved, than in all the other wars, in which he
had been engaged. In his wars against foreign

[k] Hoc civili bello, Dii dicta Pompeio? — etenim
immortales! — quæ nobis ille admodum extis & osten-
in Græciam Româ responsa tis movebatur. De Div. 2.
Haruspicum missa sunt? quæ 24.

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVILIUS
VATIA ISAU-
RICUS.

enemies, his power was absolute, and all his motions depended on his own will ; but in this, besides several Kings and Princes of the East, who attended him in person, he had with him in his Camp almost all the chief Magistrates and Senators of Rome ; men of equal dignity with himself, who had commanded armies, and obtained triumphs, and expected a share in all his counsils, and that in their common danger, no step should be taken, but by their common advice : and as they were under no engagement to his cause, but what was voluntary, so they were necessarily to be humored, lest through disgust they should desert it. Now these were all uneasy in their present situation, and longed to be at home in the enjoyment of their estates and honors ; and having a confidence of victory from the number of their troops, and the reputation of their Leader, were perpetually teizing Pompey to the resolution of a battel ; charging him with a design to protract the war, for the sake of perpetuating his authority ; and calling him another Agamemnon, *who was proud of holding so many Kings and Generals under his command* [1] ; till, being unable to withstand their reproaches any longer, he was driven by a kind of shame, and against his judgment, to the experiment of a decisive action.

CÆSAR was sensible of Pompey's difficulty, and persuaded, that he could not support the indignity of shewing himself afraid of fighting; and

[4] Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ Αγαμέμνονα καλεῖ-
 ταν, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ Βασιλέων
 διὰ τὸν πολέμον ἦρχεν; ἐξέση
 τῶν οὐκείαν λογισμῶν, καὶ ἐν-
 δωκεν αὐτοῖς. App. p. 470.

Milites otium, focii moram, Principes ambitum ducis increpabant. Flor. l. 4. z. Dio. p. 185. Plut. in Pomp.

from

from that assurance exposed himself often more rashly than prudence would otherwise justify: for his besieging Pompey at Dyrrhachium, who was master of the sea, which supplied every thing to him that was wanted, while his own army was starving at land; and the attempt to block up entrenchments so widely extended, with much smaller numbers than were employed to defend them, must needs be thought rash and extravagant, were it not for the expectation of drawing Pompey by it to a general engagement: for when he could not gain that end, his perseverance in the siege had like to have ruined him, and would inevitably have done so, if he had not quitted it, as he himself afterwards owned [*m*].

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVILIUS
VATIA ISAU-
RICUS.

It must be observed likewise, that, while Pompey had any walls or entrenchments between him and Cæsar, not all Cæsar's vigor, nor the courage of his veterans, could gain the least advantage against him: but on the contrary, that Cæsar was baffled and disappointed in every attempt. Thus at Brundisium he could make no impression upon the Town, till Pompey at full leisure had secured his retreat, and embarked his troops: and at Dyrrhachium, the only considerable action, which happened between them, was not only disadvantageous, but almost fatal to him. Thus far Pompey certainly shewed himself the greater Captain, in not suffering a force, which he could not resist in

[*m*] Cæsar pro natura ferrox, & conficiendæ rei cupidus, ostentare aciem, provocare, laceffere; nunc obsidione castrorum, quæ sedecim millium vallo obduxerat; (sed quid his obsesset obsidio, qui

patente mari omnibus copiis abundarent?) nunc expugnatione Dyrrhachii irrita, &c. Flor. l. 4. c. 2.

ὁμολόγει τε μετ' ἀγινώσκειν πρὸς Δυρράχῳ στραπεδεύσας, &c. App. p. 468.

A. Urb. 705. the field, to do him any hurt, or carry any point
 Cic. 59. against him; since that depended on the skill of
 Coff. the General. By the help of entrenchments he
 C. JULIUS knew how to make his new raised soldiers a
 CÆSAR II. match for Cæsar's Veterans; but when he was
 P. SERVILIUS drawn to encounter him on the open plain, he
 VATIA ISAU- fought against insuperable odds, by deserting *his*
 RICUS. *proper arms*, as Cicero says, of *caution, counsel,*
and authority, in which he was superior, and commit-
ting his fate to swords and spears, and bodily strength,
in which his enemies far excelled him [n].

CICERO was not present at the battel of Pharfalia, but was left behind at Dyrrhachium much out of humor, as well as out of order: his discontent to see all things going wrong on that side, and contrary to his advice, had brought upon him an ill habit of body, and weak state of health; which made him decline all public command; but he promised Pompey to follow, and continue with him as soon as his health permitted [o]; and as a pledge of his sincerity, sent his son in the mean while along with him, who, though very young, behaved himself gallantly, and acquired *great applause by his dexterity of riding and throwing the javelin*, and performing every other part of military discipline at the head of *one of the wings of*

[n] Non iis rebus pugnamus, quibus valere poteramus, consilio, auctoritate, causa, quæ erant in nobis superiora; sed lacertis & viribus, quibus pares non fuimus. Ep. fam. 4. 7.

Dolebamque pilis & gladiis, non consiliis neque auctoritatibus nostris de jure publico disceptari—Ep. fam. 6. 1.

[o] Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod nihil ita poterat agi, ut mihi & meis rebus aptum esset—me conficit sollicitudo, ex qua etiam summa infirmitas corporis; qua levata, ero cum eo, qui negotium gerit, estque in magna spe — ad Att. xi. 4.

Horſe, of which Pompey had given him the command [p]. Cato ſtaid behind alſo in the Camp at Dyrrhachium, which he commanded with *ſifteen Cohorts*, when Labienus brought them the news of Pompey's defeat; upon which Cato offered the command to Cicero as the ſuperior in dignity; and upon his refusal of it, as Plutarch tells us, *young Pompey was ſo enraged, that he drew his ſword, and would have killed him upon the ſpot, if Cato had not prevented it.* This fact is not mentioned by Cicero, yet ſeems to be referred to in his ſpeech for Marcellus, where he ſays, *that in the very war, he had been a perpetual aſſertor of peace, to the hazard even of his life [q].* But the wretched news from Pharfalia threw them all into ſuch a conſternation, that they preſently took ſhipping, and diſperſed themſelves ſeverally, as their hopes or inclinations led them into the different provinces of the Empire [r]. The greateſt part who were determined to renew the war, went directly into Afric, the general rendezvous of their ſcattered forces; whilſt others, who were diſpoſed to expect the farther iſſue of things, and take ſuch meaſures as fortune offered, retired to Achaia: but Cicero was reſolved to make this *the end of the war to himſelf*; and recommended the ſame conduct to his friends: declar-

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVILIUS
VATIA ISAU-
RICUS.

[p] Quo tamen in bello cum te Pompeius alæ alteri præfeciffet, magnam laudem & a ſummo viro & ab exercitu conſequere, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando: atque ea quidem tua laus pariter cum Repub. cecidit. De Offic. 2. 13.

[q] Multa de pace dixi, & in ipſo bello, eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo ſenſi. Pro Marcell. 5.

[r] Paucis ſane poſt diebus ex Pharfalica fuga veniſſe Labienum: qui cum interitum exercitus nunciaviſſet—naves ſubito perterriti conſcendiſtis. De Divin. 1. 32.

A. Urb. 705. ing, *that as they had been no match for Cæsar, when*
 Cic. 59. *intire, they could not hope to beat him, when shat-*
 Coff. *tered and broken [s]: and so after a miserable*
 C. JULIUS campaign of about eighteen months, he commit-
 CÆSAR II. ted himself without hesitation to the mercy of
 P. SERVILIUS the Conqueror, and landed again at Brundisium
 VATA ISAU- about the end of October.
 RICUS.

[s] Hunc ego belli mihi fractos superiores fore. Ep.
 finem feci; nec putavi, cum fam. 7. 3.
 integri pares non fuissetus,

S E C T. VIII.

CICERO no sooner returned to Italy, than he began to reflect, that he had been too hasty in coming home, before the war was determined, and without any invitation from the Conqueror; and in a time of that general licence, had reason to apprehend some insult from the soldiers, if he ventured to appear in public with *his Fasces and Laurel*; and yet to drop them, would be a diminution of that honor, which he had received from the Roman people, and the acknowledgement of a power superior to the laws: *he condemned himself therefore for not continuing abroad, in some convenient place of retirement, till he had been sent for, or things were better settled [t].* What gave him the greater reason to repent of this step was, *a message that he received from Antony*, who governed all in Cæsar's absence, and with the same churlish spirit, with which he would have held him before in Italy against his will, seemed now disposed to drive him out of it: for he sent him *the copy of a Letter from Cæsar*, in which Cæsar signified, "that he had heard, that Cato and Metellus were at Rome, and appeared openly there, which might occasion some disturbance: wherefore

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR Dic-
tator II.
M. ANTO-
NIUS Mag.
Equit.

[t] Ego vero & incaute, ut scribis, & celerius quam oportuit, feci, &c. Ad Att. xi. 9.

Quare voluntatis me meæ nunquam pœnitebit, consilii pœnitet. In oppido aliquo malletm refedisse, quoad arcefferer. Minus sermonis sub-

iissem: minus accepissem doloris: ipsum hoc non me angere. Brundisii jacere in omnes partes est molestum. Propius accedere, ut suades, quomodo sine lictoribus, quos populus dedit, possum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non possunt. Ad Att. xi. 6.

A. Urb. 706. " he strictly enjoined, that none should be suf-
 Cic. 60. fered to come to Italy without a fpecial licence
 Cofl. " from himfelf. Antony therefore defired Ci-
 C. JULIUS " cero to excufe him, fince he could not help
 CÆSAR Dic- " obeying Cæfar's commands : but Cicero fent
 tator II. " L. Lamia to affure him, that Cæfar had order-
 M. ANTO- " ed Dolabella to write to him to come to Italy
 NIUS Mag. " as foon as he pleafed ; and that he came upon
 Equit. " the authority of Dolabella's Letter : " fo that
 Antony in the Ediét, which he publifhed to ex-
 clude *the Pompeians from Italy, excepted Cicero by*
name : which added ftill to his mortification ;
 fince all his defire was to be connived at onely,
 or tacitly permitted, *without being personally diftin-*
guifhed from the reft of his party [u].

BUT he had feveral other grievances of a do-
 meftic kind, which concurred alfo to make him
 unhappy : his Brother Quintus, with his Son, after
 their efcape from Pharfalia, followed Cæfar into
 Aſia, to obtain their pardon from him in perfon.
 Quintus had particular reafon to be afraid of his
 refentment, on account of the relation which he
 had born to him, as one of his Lieutenants
 in Gaul, where he had been treated by him with
 great generofity ; fo that Cicero *himfelf would*
have diffuaded him from going over to Pompey, but
could not prevail : yet in this common calamity,
 Quintus, in order to make his own peace the
 more eafily, refolved to throw all the blame
 upon his Brother, and for that purpofe made it

[u] Sed quid ego de liſto-
 ribus, qui pæne ex Italia de-
 cedere ſim juſſus ? nam ad me
 miſit Antonius exemplum
 Cæſaris ad ſe literarum ; in
 quibus erat, ſe auſiſſe, Ca-
 tonem & L. Metellum in Ita-
 liam veniſſe, Romæ ut eſſent

palam, &c. Tum ille edi-
 xit ita, ut me exciperet & Læ-
 lium nominatim. Quod ſane
 nollem. Poterat enim ſine
 nomine, re ipſa excipi. O
 multas graves offenſiones !—
 ib. 7.

the subject of *all his Letters and Speeches to Cæsar's friends, to rail at him in a manner the most inhuman.* A. Urb. 705. Cic. 60. Coss.

CICERO was informed of this from all quarters, and that young Quintus, who was sent before towards Cæsar, *had read an oration to his friends, which he had prepared to speak to him against his Uncle.* Nothing, as Cicero says, *ever happened more shocking to him*; and though he had no small diffidence of Cæsar's inclination, and many enemies labouring to do him ill offices, yet his greatest concern was, lest his Brother and Nephew should hurt themselves rather than him, by their perfidy [x]: for under all the sense of this provocation his behaviour was just the reverse of theirs: and having been informed, *that Cæsar in a certain conversation, had charged his Brother with being the author of their going away to Pompey*, he took occasion to write to him in the following terms:

“ As for my Brother, I am not less solicitous
“ for his safety, than my own; but in my present situation dare not venture to recommend
“ him to you: all that I can pretend to, is, to
“ beg that you will not believe him to have ever
“ done any thing towards obstructing my good
“ offices and affection to you; but rather, that

[x] Quintus misit filium non solum sui deprecatorem, sed etiam accusatorem me—neque vero desistet, ubicunque est omnia in me maledicta conferre. Nihil mihi unquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum.—ibid. 8.

Epistolas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me probrorum

—ipsi enim illi putavi perniciosum fore, si ejus hoc tantum scelus percubisset—ib. 9.

Quintum filium—volumen sibi ostendisse orationis, quam apud Cæsarem contra me esset habiturus—multa postea Patris, consimili scelere Patrem esset locutum. ib. 10.

- A. Urb. 706. " he was always the adviser of our union, and
 Cic. 60. " the companion, not the leader of my voyage :
 Coff. " wherefore in all other respects, I leave it to
 C. JULIUS " you to treat him, as your own humanity, and
 CÆSAR Dic- " his friendship with you require ; but I entreat
 tator II. " you, in the most pressing manner, that I may
 M. ANTO- " not be the cause of hurting him with you on any
 NIUS Mag. " account whatsoever [y]."
 Equit.

HE found himself likewise at this time in some distress for want of money, which in that season of public distraction, it was very difficult to procure, either by borrowing or selling : the sum, which he advanced to Pompey had drained him : and his wife, by her indulgence to stewards, and favorite servants, had made great waste of what was left at home : and instead of saving any thing from their rents, had plunged him deeply into debt ; so that Atticus's purse was the chief fund which he had to trust to for his present support [z].

THE conduct of Dolabella was a farther mortification to him ; who by the fiction of an adoption into a plebeian family, had obtained the tribunate this year, and was raising great tumults and disorders in Rome, by a law, which he published, *to expunge all debts*. Laws of that kind had been often attempted by desperate or ambitious magistrates ; but were always detested by the better sort, and particularly by Cicero, who treats them as pernicious *to the peace and prosperity of*

[y] Cum mihi litteræ a Balbo minore missæ essent, Cæsarem existimare, Quintum Fratrem *lituum meæ professionis* fuisse, sic enim scribit—ad Att. xi. 12.

[z] Velim consideres ut

sit unde nobis suppeditentur sumtus necessarii. Si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio, tum, cum id videbamus sapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13, 2, 22, &c.

states,

states, and sapping the very foundations of civil Society, by destroying all faith and credit among men [a]. No wonder therefore that we find him taking this affair so much to heart, and complaining so heavily, in many of his Letters to Atticus, of *the famed acts of his Son-in-law. as an additional source of affliction and disgrace to him [b].* Dolabella was greatly embarrassed in his fortunes, and while he was with Cæsar abroad, seems to have left his wife destitute of necessaries at home, and forced to recur to her Father for her subsistence. Cicero likewise, either through the difficulty of the times, or for want of a sufficient settlement on Dolabella's part, had not yet paid all her fortune; which it was usual to do *at three different payments*, within a time limited by law: he had discharged *the two first*, and was now preparing to make *the third payment*, which he frequently and pressingly recommends to the care of Atticus [c]. But Dolabella's whole life and character were so entirely contrary to the manners and temper both of Cicero and Tullia, that a divorce ensued between them not long after, though the account of it is delivered so darkly, that it is hard to say at what time, or from what side it first arose.

A. Urb. 706
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

[a] Nec enim ulla res vehementius Rempub. continet, quam fides; quæ esse nulla potest, nisi erit necessaria solutio rerum creditarum, &c. de Offic. 2. 24.

[b] Quod me audis fractiorem esse animo; quid putas, cum videas accessisse ad superiores ægritudines præclaras generi actiones?—ad Att. xi. 12.

Etsi omnium conspectum

horreo, præsertim hoc genero —ib. 14, 15, &c.

[c] De dote, quod scribis, per omnes Deos te obtestor, ut totam rem suscipias, & illam miseram mea culpa—tueare meis opibus, si quæ sunt; tuis, quibus tibi non molestum erit facultatibus. Ib. xi. 2.

De pensione altera, oro te, omni cura considera quid faciendum sit.—ib. xi. 4.

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR Dic-
tator II.
M. ANTO-
NIUS Mag.
Equit.

IN these circumstances Tullia paid her Father a visit at *Brundisium* on the *thirteenth of June*: but his great love for her made their meeting onely the more afflicting to him in that abject state of their fortunes; “ I was so far, says he, “ from taking that pleasure which I ought to “ have done from the virtue, humanity, and pi- “ ety of an excellent daughter, that I was ex- “ ceedingly grieved to see so deserving a Crea- “ ture in such an unhappy condition, not by her “ own, but wholly by my fault: I saw no rea- “ son therefore for keeping her longer here, in “ this our common affliction: but was willing to “ send her back to her mother as soon as she “ would consent to it [*d*].”

AT *Brundisium* he received the news of Pom- pey’s death, which did not surprize him, as we find from the short reflection that he makes upon it: “ As to Pompey’s end, says he, I never had “ any doubt about it: for the lost and desperate “ state of his affairs had so possessed the minds “ of all the Kings and states abroad, that whi- “ thersoever he went, I took it for granted that “ this would be his fate: I cannot however help “ grieving at it; for I knew him to be an honest, “ grave, and worthy man [*e*].”

THIS was the short and true character of the

[*d*] Tullia mea ad me ve-
nit prid Id. Jun.—Ego au-
tem ex ipsius virtute, huma-
nitate, pietate non modo eam
voluptatem non cepi, quam
capere ex singulari filia debui,
sed etiam incredibili sum do-
lere affectus, tale ingenium
in tam misera fortuna versari.
—ib. xi. 17. Ep. fam. 14.
11.

[*e*] De Pompeii exitu mihi
dubium nunquam fuit: tanta
enim desperatio rerum ejus,
omnium Regum & populo-
rum animos occuparat, ut
quocunque venisset, hoc pu-
tarem futurum. Non possum
ejus casum non dolere: ho-
minem enim integrum & cas-
tum & gravem cognovi. Ad
Att. xi. 6.

man from one who perfectly knew him; not heightened, as we sometimes find it, by the shining colors of his eloquence; nor depressed by the darker strokes of his resentment. Pompey had early acquired *the surname of the Great*, by that sort of merit, which, from the constitution of the Republic, necessarily made him GREAT; a fame and success in war, superior to what Rome had ever known in the most celebrated of her Generals. He had triumphed at three several times over the three different parts of the known world, Europe, Asia, Africa; and by his victories had almost doubled the extent, as well as the revenues of the Roman dominion; for as he declared to the people on his return from the Mithridatic war, *he had found the lesser Asia the boundary, but left it the middle of their Empire. He was about six years older than Cæsar*; and while Cæsar immersed in pleasures, oppressed with debts, and suspected by all honest men, was hardly able to shew his head; Pompey was flourishing in the height of power and glory, and by the consent of all parties placed at the head of the Republic. This was the post that his ambition seemed to aim at, to be the first man in Rome; *the Leader, not the Tyrant of his Country*: for he more than once had it in his power to have made himself the master of it without any risk; if his virtue, or his phlegm at least had not restrained him: but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving from the gift of the people, what he did not care to seize by force; and by fomenting the disorders of the City, hoped to drive them to the necessity of creating him Dictator. It is an observation of all the historians, that while Cæsar made no difference of power, *whether it was conferred or usurped: whether over those who loved, or those who feared*

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit,

A. Urb. 706. *feared him*; Pompey seemed to value none but
 Cic. 60. *what was offered*; nor to have any desire to govern,
 Coff. *but with the good will of the governed.* What lei-
 C. JULIUS *sure he found from his wars, he employed in the*
 CÆSAR Dic. *study of polite Letters, and especially of elo-*
 tator II. *quence, in which he would have acquired great*
 M. ANTO- *fame, if his genius had not drawn him to the more*
 NIUS Mag. *dazzling glory of arms*: yet he pleaded several
 Equit. *causes with applause, in the defence of his friends*
and clients; and some of them in conjunction with
Cicero. His language was copious and elevated;
his sentiments just; his voice sweet; his action
noble, and full of dignity. But his talents were
better formed for arms, than the gown: for
though in both he observed the same discipline,
a perpetual modesty, temperance, and gravity of
outward behaviour; yet in the licence of camps,
the example was more rare and striking. His
person was extremely gracefull, and imprinting
respect; yet with an air of reserve and haughti-
ness, which became the General better than the
Citizen. His parts were plausible, rather than
great; specious rather than penetrating; and his
view of politics but narrow; for his chief instru-
ment of governing was, dissimulation; yet he had
not always the art to conceal his real sentiments.
As he was a better soldier than a statesman, so
what he gained in the Camp he usually lost in the
City; and though adored, when abroad, was of-
ten affronted and mortified at home; till the im-
prudent opposition of the Senate drove him to
that alliance with Crassus and Cæsar, which prov-
ed fatal both to himself and the Republic. He
took in these two, not as the partners, but the
ministers rather of his power; that by giving
them some share with him, he might make his
own authority uncontrollable: he had no reason

to apprehend, that they could ever prove his Ri-
vals; since neither of them had any credit or
character of that kind, which alone could raise
them above the laws; a superior fame and expe-
rience in war, *with the militia of the empire at
their devotion*: all this was purely his own; till
by cherishing Cæsar, and throwing into his hands
the onely thing which he wanted, *arms and mili-
tary command*; he made him at last too strong
for himself, and never began to fear him, till it
was too late: Cicero warmly dissuaded both *his
union, and his breach with Cæsar*; and after the
rupture, as warmly still, the thought of *giving
him battel*: if any of these counsils had been fol-
lowed, Pompey had preserved his life and honor,
and the Republic its liberty. But he was urged
to his fate by a natural superstition, and attenti-
on to those vain auguries, with which he was
flattered by all the Haruspices; he had seen the
same temper in Marius and Sylla, and observed
the happy effects of it: but they assumed it one-
ly out of policy, he out of principle. They
used it to animate their soldiers, when they had
found a probable opportunity of fighting; but
he against all prudence and probability, was en-
couraged by it to fight to his own ruin. He saw
all his mistakes at last, when it was out of his
power to correct them; and in his wretched
flight from Pharsalia was forced to confess, *that
he had trusted too much to his hopes; and that Ci-
cero had judged better, and seen farther into things
than he*. The resolution of seeking refuge in
Egypt, finished the sad Catastrophe of this great
man: the Father of the reigning Prince had been
highly obliged to him for his protection at Rome,
and restoration to his kingdom: and the Son had
sent a considerable fleet to his assistance in the
present

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR Dic-
tator II.
M. ANTO-
NIUS Mag.
Equit.

A. Urb. 706. present war: but in this ruin of his fortunes;
 Cic. 60. what gratitude was there to be expected from a
 Coff. Court, governed by *Eunuchs and mercenary Greeks*?
 C. JULIUS all whose politics turned, not on the honor of
 CÆSAR Dic- the King, but the establishment of their own
 tator II. power; which was likely to be eclipsed by the
 M. ANTO- admission of Pompey. How happy had it been
 NIUS Mag. for him to have died in that sickness, *when all*
 Equit. *Italy was putting up vows and prayers for his safe-*
ty? or if he had fallen by the chance of war on
 the plains of Pharfalia, in the defence of his
 Country's liberty, he had died still glorious,
 though unfortunate: but, as if he had been re-
 served for an example of the instability of human
 Greatness, he, who a few days before command-
 ed *Kings and Consuls, and all the noblest of Rome,*
 was sentenced to die by *a council of slaves*; mur-
 dered by a *base desertor*; cast out naked and head-
 less on the Egyptian strand; and when *the whole*
earth, as Velleius says, had scarce been sufficient
for his victories, could not find a spot upon it at last
for a grave. His Body was burnt on the shoar
 by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an
 old fishing-boat; and his ashes being conveyed to
 Rome, were deposited privately by *his wife Cor-*
nelia in a Vault of his Alban Villa. The Egyp-
 tians however raised a *monument* to him on the
 place, and adorned it with *figures of brass,* which
 being defaced afterwards by time, and *buried al-*
most in sand and rubbish, was sought out and re-
 stored by the Emperor Hadrian [f].

[f] Hujus viri fastigium
 tantis ausibus fortuna extu-
 lit, ut primum ex Africa, ite-
 rum ex Europa, tertio ex A-
 sia triumpharet; & quot par-
 tes terrarum Orbis sunt, toti-

dem faceret monumenta vic-
 toriæ, [Vell. P. 2. 40.] Ut
 ipse in concione dixit,— Asi-
 am ultimam provinciarum
 accepisse, mediam patriæ red-
 didisse. Plin. H. 7. 26. Flor.

ON the news of Pompey's death, *Cæsar was declared Dictator the second time in his absence,*

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.

and C. JULIUS
CÆSAR Dic-

3. 5.] Potentiæ quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus, [Vell. P. 2. 29. Dio. p. 178.] Meus autem æqualis Cn. Pompeius, vir ad omnia summa natus, majorem dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum majoris gloriæ cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abtraxisset. Erat oratione fati amplius: rem prudenter videbat: actio vero ejus habebat & in voce magnum splendorem, & in motu summam dignitatem. [Brut. 354. vid. it. pro Balbo. 1, 2.] Forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur ætatis, sed ex dignitate constanti. [Vell. P. 2. 29.] Illud os probum, ipsumque honorem eximiæ frontis. [Plin. Hist. 7. 12.] Solet enim aliud sentire & loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat. [Ep. fam. 8. 1.] Ille aluit, auxit, armavit— ille Galliæ ulterioris adjutor— ille provinciæ propagator; ille absentis in omnibus adjutor. [ad Att. 8. 3.] aluerat Cæsarem, eundem repente timere cœperat. [ib. 8.] Ego nihil prætermisi, quantum facere, nitique potui, quin Pompeium a Cæsaris conjunctione avocarem— idem ego, cum jam omnes opes & suas & populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæsarem detulisset, seroque ea sentire cœ-

pisset, quæ ego ante multo provideram— pacis, concordiæ, compositionis auctor esse non destiti: meaque illa vox ex nota multis. Utinam, Pompei, cum Cæsare societatem aut nunquam coisses, aut nunquam diremisses!— hæc mea, Antoni, & de Pompeio & de Repub. consilia fuerunt: quæ si valuissent, Respub. staret. [Phil. 2. 10.] Multi testes, me & initio ne conjungeret se cum Cæsare, monuisse Pompeium, & postea, ne se jungeret, &c. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.] Quid vero singularis ille vir ac pæne divinus de me senserit, sciunt, qui eum de Pharsalica fuga Paphum persecuti sunt; nunquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica— cum me vidisse plus fatetur, se speravisse meliora. [ib. 15.] Qui, si mortem tum obiisset, in amplissimis fortune occidisset; is propagatione vitæ quot, quantas, quam incredibiles hausit calamitates! [Tusc. disp. 1. 35.] In Pelusiaco littore, imperio vilissimi Regis, consiliis spadonum, & ne quid malis desit, Septimii desertoris sui gladio trucidatur. [Flor. 4. 2. 52.] Ægyptum petere proposuit, memor beneficiorum quæ in Patrem ejus Ptolemæi, qui tum regnabat, contulerat— Princeps Romani nominis, imperio, arbitrioque Ægyptii mancipii jugulatus est—

in

A. Urb. 706. *and M. Antony his Master of the Horse*, who by virtue of that post governed all things absolutely in Italy. Cicero continued all the while at Brundisium, in a situation wholly disagreeable, and *worse to him*, he says, *than any punishment: for the air of the place began to affect his health, and to the uneasiness of mind added an ill state of body* [g]: yet to move nearer towards Rome without leave from his new Masters, was not thought adviseable; nor did Antony encourage it; being pleased rather, we may believe, to see him well mortified: so that he had no hopes of any ease or comfort, but in the expectation of Cæsar's return; which made his stay in that place the more necessary for the opportunity of paying his early compliments to him at landing.

BUT what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, to be held still in suspense, in what touched him the most nearly, the case of his own safety, and of Cæsar's disposition towards him: for though all Cæsar's friends assured him, *not onely of pardon, but of all kind of favor*; yet he had received no intimation of kindness from Cæsar himself, who was so embarrassed in Egypt, that he had no leisure to think of Italy, and did not so much as *write a Letter thither from December to June*: for as he had rashly, and out of gaiety,

in tantum in illo viro a se discordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat deesset ad sepulturam. Vell. Pat. 2. 54. vid. Dio. p. 186. it. Appian. 2. 481.

Provida Pompeio dederat
Campania febres
Optandas. Sed multæ urbes,
& publica vota

Vicerunt. Igitur fortuna ipsius & Urbis

Servatum victo caput abstulit. Juv. x. 283.

[g] Quodvis enim supplicium levius est hac permansione.—Ad Att. xi. 18.

Jam enim corpore vix sustineo gravitatem hujus cœli, qui mihi laborem affert, in dolore—ibid. 22.

as it were, involved himself there in a most desperate war, to the hazard of all his fortunes; *he was ashamed, as Cicero says [b], to write any thing about it, till he had extricated himself out of that difficulty.*

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
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tator II.
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NIUS Mag.
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HIS enemies in the mean time had greatly strengthened themselves in Africa, where P. Varus, who first seized it on the part of the Republic, was supported by all the force of *King Juba*, Pompey's fast friend, and had reduced the whole Province to his obedience; for Curio, after he had driven Cato out of *Sicily*, being ambitious to drive Varus also out of *Afric*, and having transported thither the best part of *four legions*, which Cæsar had committed to him, was, after some little success upon his landing, intirely defeated and destroyed with his whole army in an engagement with Sabura, *King Juba's General*.

CURIO was a young nobleman of shining parts; admirably formed by nature to adorn that character, in which *his Father and Grandfather* had flourished before him, of one of the principal *Orators of Rome*. Upon his entrance into the Forum, he was committed to the care of Cicero: but a natural propension to pleasure, stimulated by the example and counsils of his perpetual companion Antony, hurried him into all the extravagance of expence and debauchery: for Antony, who always wanted money, with which Curio abounded, was ever obsequious to his will, and ministring to his Lusts, for the opportunity of gratifying his own: so that, *no boy purchased for the use of lewdness, was more in a Master's power,*

[b] Ille enim ita videtur Nec post idus Decemb. ab
Alexandriam tenere, ut eum illo datas ullas litteras. Ib.
scribere etiam pudeat de illis 17.
rebus. Ib. xi. 15.

than

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR Dic-
tator II.
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NIUS Mag.
Equit.

than Antony in Curio's. He was equally prodigal of his money, and his modesty; and not onely of his own, but of other people's: so that Cicero alluding to the infamous effeminacy of his life, calls him in one of his Letters, *Miss Curio*. But when the Father, by Cicero's advice, had obliged him by his paternal authority *to quit the familiarity of Antony*; he reformed his conduct, and adhering to the instructions and maxims of Cicero, became the favorite of the City; the Leader of the young nobility: and a warm asserter of the authority of the Senate, against the power of the *Triumvirate*. After his Father's death, upon his first taste of public honors, and admission into the Senate, his ambition and thirst of popularity engaged him in so immense a prodigality, that to supply the magnificence of *his shews, and plays*, with which he entertained the City, he was soon driven to the necessity of selling himself to Cæsar; having *no revenue left*, as Pliny says, *but from the discord of his Citizens*. For this he is considered commonly by the old writers, as *the chief instrument, and the Trumpet, as it were, of the civil war*; in which he justly fell the first victim; yet after all his luxury and debauch, fought and died with a courage truly Roman; which would have merited a better fate, if it had been employed in a better cause: for upon the loss of the battel, and his best troops, being admonished by his friends to save himself by flight, he answered, *that after losing an army, which had been committed to him by Cæsar, he could never shew his face to him again*; and so continued fighting, till he was killed among the last of his foldiers [i].

CURIO'S

[i] *Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma.* Lucan 4.
Una

CURIO's death happened before the battel of A. Urb. 7, Pharsalia, while Cæsar was engaged in Spain [k]: Cic. 65. by which means Afric fell intirely into the hands C. JULIUS; of the Pompeians; and became the general rendezvous of all that party: hither Scipio, Cato, CÆSAR D. and Labienus, conveyed the remains of their tator II. scattered troops from Greece, as Afranius and M. ANTONIUS Nlag. and Petreius likewise did from Spain; till on the Equit. whole they had brought together again a more numerous army than Cæsar's, and were in such high spirits, as to talk of coming over with it into Italy, before Cæsar could return from Alexandria [l]. This was confidently given out, and expected at Rome; and in that case, Cicero was

Una familia Curionem, in qua tres continua serie Oratores extiterunt. Plin. H. 7. 41.

Naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum. Brut. 406.

Nemo unquam puer, emptus libidinis causa, tam fuit in domini potestate, quam tu in Curionis. [Philip. 2. 18]. duce filiola Curionis. [ad Att. 1. 14.]

Vir nobilis, eloquens, audax, suæ alienæque & fortunæ & pudicitiae prodigus—cujus animo, voluptatibus vel libidinibus, neque opes ullæ neque cupiditates sufficere possent. [Vell. P. 248.]

Nisi meis puer olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis paruisses. [Ep. fam. 2. 1.]

Bello autem civili—non alius majorem quam C. Curio

subjecit facem— [Vell. P. 2. 48.]

Quid nunc Rostra tibi profunt turbata, forumque

Unde Tribunitia plebeius significer arce

Arma dabas populis, &c.

Lucan. 4. 800.

At Curio, nunquam amisso exercitu, quem a Cæsare fidei suæ commissum acceperat, se in ejus conspectum reversurum, confirmat; atque ita prælians interficitur. Cæf. Comm. de Bell. Civ. 2.

[k] *Ante jaces, quam dira duces Pharsalia confert,*

Spectandumque tibi bellum civile negatum est.

Lucan. ib.

[l] *Ii autem ex Africa jam affuturi videntur.* Ad Att. xi. 15.

A. Urb. 706.
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sure to be treated as a desertor; for while *Cæsar looked upon all men as friends, who did not act against him*, and pardoned even enemies, who submitted to his power; it was declared law on the other side, *to consider all as enemies, who were not actually in their Camp [m]*: so that Cicero had nothing now to wish, either for himself, or the Republic, but in the first place, *peace, of which he had still some hopes [n]*; or else, that Cæsar might conquer; whose victory was like to prove the more temperate of the two: which makes him often lament the unhappy situation to which he was reduced, where *nothing could be of any service to him, but what he had always abhorred [o]*.

UNDER this anxiety of mind, it was an additional vexation to him to hear, *that his reputation was attacked at Rome*, for submitting so hastily to the Conqueror, or putting himself rather at all into his power. Some condemned him *for not following Pompey*; some more severely *for not going to Afric*, as the greatest part had done; others, *for not retiring with many of his party to Achaia*; till they could see the farther progress of the war: as he was always extremely sensible of what was said of him by honest men, so he begs of Atticus to be his advocate; and gives

[m] Te enim dicere audiebamus, nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent; te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Pro Ligar. xi. it. ad Att. xi. 6.

[n] Est autem, unum, quod mihi sit optandum, si quid agi de pace possit: quod nulla equidem habeo in spe: sed quia tu leviter interdum

significas, cogis me sperare quod optandum vix est— ad Att. xi. 13. it. 12.—

[o] Mihi cum omnia sunt intolerabilia ad dolorem, tum maxime, quod in eam causam venisse me video, ut ea sola utilia mihi esse videantur, quæ semper nolui. Ad Att. xi. 13.

him

him some hints, which might be urged in his defence. As to the first charge, *for not following Pompey*, he says, “ that Pompey’s fate “ would extenuate the omission of that step : “ of the second, that though he knew many “ brave men to be in Afric, yet it was his opinion, “ that the Republic neither could, nor ought to “ be defended by the help of so barbarous and “ treacherous a nation : as to the third, he wishes “ indeed that he had joined himself to those in “ Achaia, and owns them to be in a better condition than himself, because they were many “ of them together ; and whenever they returned to Italy, would be restored to their own “ at once :” whereas he was confined like a prisoner of war to *Brundisium*, without the liberty of stirring from it till Cæsar arrived [*p*].

A. Urb. 706
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

WHILE he continued in this uneasy state, some of his friends at Rome contrived to send him a Letter in Cæsar’s name, dated the ninth of February from Alexandria, encouraging him to lay aside all gloomy apprehensions, and expect every thing that was kind and friendly from him : but it was drawn in terms so slight and general, that instead of giving him any satisfaction, it made him onely suspect, what he perceived afterwards to be true, that it was forged by Balbus or Oppius, on purpose to raise his spirits, and administer

[*p*] Dicebar debuisse cum Pompeio proficisci. Exitus illius minuit ejus officii prætermisſi reprehensionem. — Sed ex omnibus nihil magis desideratur, quam quod in Africam non ierim. Judicio hoc sum usus, non esse barbaris auxiliis fallacissimæ gentis Rempub. defendendam —

extremum est eorum, qui in Achaia sunt. Ii tamen ipsi se hoc melius habent, quam nos, quod & multi sunt uno in loco, & cum in Italiam venerit, domum statim venerint. Hæc tu perge, ut facis, mitigare & probare quam plurimis. Ad Att. xi.

7.

A. Urb. 706. some little comfort to him [q]. All his accounts however confirmed to him the report of Cæsar's clemency and moderation, and his granting pardon without exception to all who asked it; and with regard to himself, *Cæsar sent Quintus's virulent Letters to Balbus, with orders to shew them to him, as a proof of his kindness and dislike of Quintus's perfidy.* But Cicero's present despondency, which interpreted every thing by his fears, made him *suspect Cæsar the more, for refusing grace to none; as if such a clemency must needs be affected, and his revenge deferred onely to a season more convenient:* and as to his Brother's Letters, he fancied, *that Cæsar did not send them to Italy, because he condemned them, but to make his present misery and abject condition the more notorious and despicable to every body [r].*

BUT after a long series of perpetual mortifications, he was refreshed at last by a very obliging Letter from Cæsar, who confirmed to him the full enjoyment of *his former state and dignity, and bad him resume his Fasces and stile of Emperor as before [s].* Cæsar's mind was too great to listen to

[q] Ut me ista epistola nihil consoletur; nam & exigue scripta est et magnas suspiciones habet, non esse ab illo—ad Att. xi. 16.

Ex quo intelligis, illud de litteris a. d. v. Id. Feb. datis (quod inane esset, etiam si verum esset) non verum esse. Ib. 17.

[r] Omnino dicitur nemini negare: quod ipsum est suspectum, notionem ejus differri. Ib. 20.

Diligenter mihi fascicu-

lum reddidit Balbi tabellarius — quod ne Cæsar quidem ad istos videtur misisse, quasi quo illius improbitate offenderetur, sed credo, uti notiora nostra mala essent,—ib. 22.

[s] Redditæ mihi tandem sunt a Cæsare litteræ fatis liberales. Ep. Fam. 14. 23.

Qui ad me ex Ægypto litteras misit, ut essem idem, qui fuisset: qui cum ipse Imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, esse

to the tales of *the Brother and Nephew*; and instead of approving their treachery, seems to have granted them their pardon on Cicero's account, rather than their own; so that Quintus, upon the trial of Cæsar's inclination, began presently to change his note, and *to congratulate with his Brother on Cæsar's affection and esteem for him* [t].

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR Dic-
tator II.
M. ANTO-
NIUS Mag.
Equit.

CICERO was now preparing *to send his Son to wait upon Cæsar, who was supposed to be upon his journey towards home*; but the uncertain accounts of his coming diverted him a while from that thought [u]; till Cæsar himself prevented it, and relieved him very agreeably from his tedious residence at Brundisium, by his sudden and unexpected arrival in Italy; where he landed at Tarentum in the month of September; and on the first notice of his coming forward towards Rome, *Cicero set out on foot to meet him*.

WE may easily imagine, what we find indeed from his Letters, that he was not a little discomposed at the thoughts of this interview, and the indignity of offering himself to a Conqueror, against whom he had been in arms, in the midst of a licentious and insolent rabble: for though he had reason to expect a kind reception from Cæsar, yet he hardly *thought his life*, he says, *worth begging*; *since what was given by a Master, might always be taken away again at pleasure* [x].

Y 3

But

esse me alterum passus est: a quo—concessos fasces laurea-
tos tenui, quoad tenendos pu-
tavi. Pro Ligar. 3.

[t] Sed mihi valde Quin-
tus gratulatur. Ad Att. xi.
23.

[u] Ego cum Sallustio Ci-
ceronem ad Cæsarem mittere

cogitabam. Ib. 17.

De illius Alexandria dis-
cessu nihil adhuc rumoris,
contraque opinio—itaque nec
mitto, ut constitueram, Ci-
ceronem—ib. 18.

[x] Sed non adducor,
quemquam bonum ullam sa-
lutem mihi tanti fuisse pu-
tare

A. Urb. 706. But at their meeting, he had no occasion to say
 Cic. 60. or do any thing that was below his dignity : for
 Coff. *Cæsar no sooner saw him, than he alighted and ran to*
 C. JULIUS *embrace him ; and walked with him alone, converf-*
 CÆSAR Dic- *ing very familiarly for feveral furlongs [y].*
 tator II.

M. ANTO- FROM this interview, Cicero followed Cæfar
 NIUS Mag. towards Rome : he propofed to be at *Tusculum on*
 Equit. *the feventh or eighth of October ;* and wrote to his
 wife to provide for his reception there, *with a*
large company of friends, who designed to make fome
ftay with him [z]. From Tusculum he came after-
 wards to the City, with a refolution to fpend his
 time in ftudy and retreat, till the Republic fhould
 be reftored to fome tolerable ftate ; “ having
 “ made his peace again, as he writes to Varro,
 “ with his old friends, his books, who had been
 “ out of humour with him for not obeying their
 “ precepts ; but inftead of living quietly with
 “ them, as Varro had done, committing himfelf
 “ to the turbulent counfils and hazards of war,
 “ with faithlefs companions [a].”

ON Cæfar’s return to Rome, he appointed *P.*
Vatinius and Q. Fufius Calenus, Confuls for the
three laft months of the year : this was a very un-
 popular ufe of his new power, which he conti-
 nued however to praftife through the reft of his
 reign ; creating thefe firft Magiftrates of the State,
 without any regard to the ancient forms, or re-
 courfe to the people, and at any time of the

tare, ut eam peterem ab illo
 —ad Att. xi. 16.

Sed—— ab hoc ipfo quæ
 dantur, ut a Domino, rurfus
 in ejufdem funt poteftate. Ib.
 20.

[y] Plutar. in Cic.

[z] Ep. fam. 14. 20.

[a] Scito enim me poftea-

quam in urbem venerim, re-
 diffe cum veteribus amicis,
 id eft, cum libris noſtris in
 gratiam—ignofcunt mihi, re-
 vocant in confuetudinem pri-
 ſtinam, teque, quod in ea
 permanferis, ſapientioſorem,
 quam me dicunt fuiſſe, &c.
 Ep. fam. 9.

year ;

year; which gave a sensible disgust to the City, and an early specimen of the arbitrary manner, in which he designed to govern them.

ABOUT the end of the year, Cæsar embarked for Afric, to pursue the war against Scipio, and the other Pompeian Generals, who, assisted by King Juba, held the possession of that Province with a vast army. As he was sacrificing for the success of this voyage, *the victim happened to break loose and run away from the Altar; which being looked upon as an unlucky Omen, the Aruspex admonished him not to sail before the winter solstice: but he took ship directly in contempt of the admonition; and by that means, as Cicero says, came upon his enemies unprepared; and before they had drawn together all their forces [b].* Upon his leaving the City, he de-

Y 4

clared

[b] Quid? ipse Cæsar, cum a Summo haruspice moneretur, ne in Africam ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? quod ni fecisset, uno in lobo omnes adversariorum copiae convenissent—de Divin. 2. 24.

Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia profectionem adversus Scipionem & Jubam non distulit—Sueton. J. Cæs. 59.

Hirtius, in his account of this war, says, that Cæsar embarked at Lilybæum for Afric on the 6th of the Kalends of Jan. [de Bell. Afric. init.] That is, on the 27th of our December: whereas Cicero, in the passage just cited, declares him to have passed

over before the Solstice, or the shortest day. But this seeming contradiction is intirely owing to a cause already intimated, the great confusion that was introduced at this time into the Roman Kalendar, by which the months were all transposed from their stated seasons; so that *the 27th of December*, on which, according to their computation, Cæsar embarked, was in reality coincident, or the same with our 8th of October, and consequently above two months before the Solstice, or shortest day. All which is clearly and accurately explained in a learned dissertation, published by a person of eminent merit in the

University

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR Dic-
tator II.
M. ANTO-
NIUS Mag.
Equit.

A. Urb. 707. declared himself Consul, together with M. Lepidus
 Cic. 61. for the year ensuing; and gave the government of
 Coss. *the Hither Gaul to M. Brutus; of Greece, to Servius*
 C. JULIUS *Sulpicius*; the first of whom had been in arms
 CÆSAR III. against him at Pharsalia; and the second was a
 M. ÆMILIUS favorer likewise of the *Pompeian cause*, and a great
 LEPIDUS. friend of Cicero, yet seems to have taken no part
 in the war [c].

THE African war now held the whole Empire in suspense; Scipio's name was thought ominous and invincible on that ground: but while the general attention was employed on the expectation of some decisive blow, Cicero, despairing of any good from either side, chose to live retired, and out of sight; and whether in the City or the Country, shut himself up with his books; which, as he often says, *had hitherto been the diversion only, but were now become the support of his life* [d]. In this humor of study he entered into a close friendship and correspondence of Letters with M. Terentius Varro; a friendship equally valued on both sides, and at Varro's desire, immortalized by the mutual dedication of their learned works to each other; *of Cicero's Academic Questions to Varro; of Varro's treatise on the Latin Tongue, to Cicero*. Varro was a Senator of the first distinction, both for birth and merit; esteemed *the most learned man of Rome*; and though now above fourscore years old, *yet continued still writing and publishing books to his eighty-eighth year* [e].

University of Cambridge, who chuses to conceal his name. See Bibliothec. Literar. N°. VIII. Lond. 1724. 4to.

[c] Brutum Gallie præfecit; Sulpicium Græciæ. Ep. fam. 6. 6.

[d] A quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam salutem. Ep. fam. 9. 2.

[e] Nisi M. Varronem scirem octogesimo octavo vitæ anno prodidisse, &c. Plin. Hist. 6. 6.

He was Pompey's *Lieutenant in Spain*, in the beginning of the war; but after the defeat of Afranius and Petreius quitted his arms, and retired to his studies; so that his present circumstances were not very different from those of Cicero; who in all his Letters to him, bewails with great freedom the utter ruin of the state; and proposes, "that they should live together in a strict communication of studies, and avoid at least the sight, if not the tongues of men; yet so, that if their new Masters should call for their help towards settling the Republic, they should run with pleasure, and assist, not onely as architects, but even as masons to build it up again; or if nobody would employ them, should write and read the best forms of government; and, as the learned ancients had done before them, serve their Country, if not in the Senate and Forum, yet by their books and studies, and by composing treatises of morals and laws [f]."

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.

IN this retreat he wrote his book of *Oratorial Partitions*, or the art of ordering and distributing the parts of an Oration so, as to adapt them in the best manner to their proper end, of moving and persuading an audience. It was written for the instruction of his son, now about eighteen years old, but seems to have been the rude draught only of what he intended, or not to have been finished at least to his satisfaction; since we

[f] Non deesse si quis adhibere volet, non modo ut Architectos, verum etiam ut fabros, ad ædificandam Rempub. & potius libenter accurere si nemo utetur opera, tamen & scribere & legere

παιδείας; & si minus in curia atque in foro, at in literis & libris, ut doctissimi veteres fecerunt, navare Rempub. & de moribus & legibus quærere. Mihi hæc videntur. Ep. fam. 9. 2.

A. Urb. 707. find no mention of it in any of his Letters, as of
 Cic. 61. all his other pieces which were prepared for the
 Coff. public.

C. JULIUS ANOTHER fruit of this leisure was his Dia-
 CÆSAR III. logue *on famous Orators*, called Brutus; in which
 M. ÆMILIUS he gives a short character of all, who had ever flo-
 LEPIDUS' rished either *in Greece or Rome*, with any reputa-
 tion of eloquence, down to his own times: and as
 he generally touches the principal points of each
 man's life, so an attentive reader may find in it
 an *Epitome*, as it were, of the *Roman History*.
 The conference is supposed to be held with *Bru-*
tus and Atticus in Cicero's garden at Rome, under
the Statue of Plato [g]; whom he always ad-
 mired, and usually imitated in the manner of his
 Dialogues; and in this seems to have copied
 from him the very form of his double title; *Bru-*
tus, or of famous Orators; taken from the speak-
 er and the subject, as in Plato's piece, called
Phædon, or of the Soul. This work was intend-
 ed as a *supplement, or a fourth book to the three*,
 which he had before published on the *complete*
Orator. But though it was prepared and finish-
 ed at this time, while *Cato was living*, as it is in-
 timated in some parts of it, yet, as it appears
 from the preface, it was not made public till the
 year following, after the death of his daughter
 Tullia.

As at the opening of the war we found *Ci-*
cero in debt to Cæsar, so we now meet with se-
 veral hints in his Letters of Cæsar's being indebt-
 ed to him. It arose probably from a mortgage,
 that Cicero had upon the confiscated estate of
 some Pompeian, which Cæsar had seized: but

[g] Cum idem placuisset Platonis Statuam consedimus
 illis, tum in pratulo, propter — Brut. 28.

of what kind soever it was, Cicero was in pain for his money : “ he saw but three ways, he says, “ of getting it ; by purchasing the estate at Cæsar’s auction ; or taking an assignment on the purchaser ; or compounding for half with the Brokers or Money-jobbers of those times ; who would advance the money on those terms. The first he declares to be base, and that he would rather lose his debt, than touch any thing confiscated : the second he thought hazardous ; and that nobody would pay any thing in such uncertain times : the third he liked the best, but desires Atticus’s advice upon it [b].”

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.

HE now at last parted with his wife Terentia, whose humor and conduct had long been uneasy to him : this drew upon him some censure ; for putting away a wife, who had lived with him above thirty years, the faithful partner of his bed and fortunes ; and the mother of two Children, extremely dear to him. But she was a woman of an imperious and turbulent spirit ; expensive and negligent in her private affairs ; busy and intriguing in the public ; and, in the height of her husband’s power, seems to have had the chief hand in the distribution of all his favors. He had easily born her perverseness in the vigor of health, and the flourishing state of his fortunes ; but in a declining life, soured by a continual succession of mortifications from abroad, the want of ease and quiet at home was no longer tolerable to him : the divorce however was not likely to cure the difficulties, in which her management had involved

[b] Nomen illud, quod a Cæsare, tres habet conditiones ; aut emtionem ab hasta ; perdere malo :—) aut delegationem a mancipe, annua die : (quis erit, cui credam ?) — aut Vesteni conditionem, semisse. *οκέφαι* igitur. Ad Att. 12. 3.

him :

A. Urb. 707. him : for ſhe had brought him a great fortune
 Cic. 61. which was all to be reſtored to her at parting :
 Coſſ. this made a ſecond marriage neceſſary, in order
 C. JULIUS to repair the ill ſtate of his affairs ; and his friends
 CÆSAR III. of both ſexes were buſy in providing a fit match
 M. ÆMILIUS for him : ſeveral parties were propoſed to him,
 LEPIDUS. and among others, *a daughter of Pompey the Great* : for whom he ſeems to have had an inclination : but a prudential regard to the times, and the envy and ruin under which that family then lay, induced him probably to drop it [i]. What gave his enemies the greater handle to rally him was, his marrying a handſom young woman, named Publilia, of an age diſproportionate to his own, to whom he was Guardian : but ſhe was well allied, and rich ; circumſtances very convenient to him at this time ; as he intimates in a Letter to a friend, who congratulated with him on his marriage.

“ As to your giving me joy, ſays he, for what
 “ I have done, I know you wiſh it : but I ſhould
 “ not have taken any new ſtep in ſuch wretched
 “ times, if at my return I had not found my private
 “ affairs in no better condition than thoſe of
 “ the Republic. For when through the wickedneſs
 “ of thoſe, who, for my infinite kindneſs
 “ to them, ought to have had the greateſt concern
 “ for my welfare, I found no ſafety or eaſe
 “ from their intrigues and perſidy within my
 “ own walls, I thought it neceſſary to ſecure myſelf
 “ by the fidelity of new alliances againſt the
 “ treachery of the old [k].”

CÆSAR

[i] De Pompeii Magni filia ubi reſcripſi, nihil me vidi ſœdus.— ib. 12. 11.
 hoc tempore cogitare. Al- [k] Ep. fam. 4. 14.
 teram vero illam, quam tu In caſes of divorce, when there

CÆSAR returned victorious from Afric about the end of July, by the way of Sardinia, where he spent some days: upon which Cicero says pleasantly in a Letter to Varro, *he had never seen that farm of his before, which though one of the worst that he has, he does not yet despise* [1]. The uncertain event of the *African War* had kept the Senate under some reserve; but they now began to push their flattery beyond all the bounds of decency, and decreed more extravagant honors to Cæsar, than were ever given before to man; which Cicero oft rallies with great spirit; and being determined to bear no part in that servile adulation, was treating about the *purchase of a House at Naples*, for a pretence of retiring still farther and oftener from Rome. But his friends who knew his impatience under their present subjection, and the free way of speaking, which he was apt to indulge, were in some pain, lest he should forfeit the good graces of Cæsar and his

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS,

there where children, it was the custom for each party to make a settlement by will on their common offspring, proportionable to their several estates: which is the meaning of Cicero's pressing Atticus so often in his Letters to put Terentia in mind of making her will, and depositing it in safe hands. Ad Att. xi. 21, 22, 24: xii. 18.—

Terentia is said to have lived to the age of an hundred and three years [Val. M. 8. 13. Plin. H. 7, 48.] and took as St. Jerom says, for her second husband, *Cicero's enemy*, Sal-

lust, and Messala for her third. Dio Cassius gives her a fourth, Vibius Rufus; who was Consul in the reign of Tiberius, and valued himself for the possession of two things, which had belonged to the two greatest men of the age before him, *Cicero's wife, and Cæsar's chair, in which he was killed.* Dio. p. 612. Hieron. Op. To. 4. par. 2. p. 190.

[1] Illud enim adhuc prædium suum non inspexit: nec ullum habet deterius, sed tamen non contemnit. Ep. fam. 9. 7.

favorites,

A. Urb. 707. favorites, and provoke them too far by the
 Cic. 61. keenness of his raillery [*m*]. They pressed him to
 Coff. accommodate himself to the times; and to use more
 C. JULIUS caution in his discourse; and to reside more at
 CÆSAR III. Rome, especial when Cæsar was there, who would
 M. ÆMILIUS interpret the distance and retreat which he affect-
 LEPIDUS. ed, as a proof of his aversion to him.

BUT his answers on this occasion will shew the real state of his sentiments and conduct towards Cæsar, as well as of Cæsar's towards him: writing on this subject to Papirius Pætus, he says; "You are of opinion, I perceive, that it will not be allowed to me, as I thought it might be, to quit these affairs of the City: you tell me of Catulus, and those times; but what similitude have they to these? I myself was

[*m*] Some of his jests on Cæsar's administration are still preserved; which shew, that his friends had reason enough to admonish him to be more upon his guard. Cæsar had advanced Laberius, a celebrated mimic actor, to the order of Knights: but when he stepped from the Stage into the Theater, to take his place on the Equestrian benches, none of the Knights would admit him to a seat among them. As he was marching off therefore with disgrace, happening to pass near Cicero, *I would make room for you here*, says Cicero on our bench, *if we were not already too much crowded*; alluding to Cæsar's filling up the Senate also with the scum of his creatures, and

even with strangers and barbarians. At another time, being desired by a friend, in a public company, to procure for his son *the rank of a Senator*, in one of the Corporate towns of Italy, *he shall have it*, says he, *if you please, at Rome, but it will be difficult at Pompeii*. An acquaintance likewise from Laodicea, coming to pay his respects to him, and being asked, what business had brought him to Rome, said, that he was sent upon an embassy to Cæsar, *to intercede with him for the liberty of his country*; upon which Cicero replied, *if you succeed, you shall be an Ambassador also for us*. Macrobian. Saturn. 2. 3. Sueton. c. 76.

“unwilling

“unwilling at that time, to stir from the guard
 “of the state; for I then sat at the helm, and
 “held the rudder; but am now scarce thought
 “worthy to work at the pump: would the Se-
 “nate think you pass fewer decrees, if I should
 “live at Naples? while I am still at Rome, and
 “attend the Forum, their decrees are all drawn
 “at our friend’s house; and whenever it comes
 “into his head, my name is set down, as if pre-
 “sent at drawing them; so that I hear from Ar-
 “menia and Syria of decrees, said to be made at
 “my motion, of which I never heard a syl-
 “lable at home. Do not take me to be in jest;
 “for I assure you, that I have received Letters
 “from kings, from the remotest parts of the
 “earth to thank me for giving them the title
 “of King; when, so far from knowing, that
 “any such title had been decreed to them, I
 “knew not even, that there were any such men
 “in being. What is then to be done? why as
 “long as our *master of manners* continues here,
 “I will follow your advice; but as soon as he is
 “gone, will run away to your mushrooms, &c.
 “[n].”

A. Urb. 707.
 Cic. 61.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR III.
 M. ÆMILIUS
 LEPIDUS.

In another Letter, “Since you express, says
 “he, such a concern for me in your last, be as-
 “sured, my dear Pætus, that whatever can be
 “done by art, (for it is not enough to act with
 “prudence, some artifice also must now be em-
 “ployed) yet whatever, I say, can be done by
 “art, towards acquiring their good graces, I
 “have already done it with the greatest care;
 “nor as I believe without success; for I am
 “so much courted by all, who are in any de-

[n] Ep. fam. 9. 15. *Præ-* the new Titles, which the
fectus morum, or master of the Senate had decreed to CÆ-
public manners, was one of SAR.

“gree

- A. Urb. 707. “gree of favor with Cæsar, that I begin to fan-
 Cic. 61. “cy that they love me : and though real love is
 Coff. “not easily distinguished from false, except in
 C. JULIUS “the case of danger, by which the sincerity of
 CÆSAR III. “it may be tried, as of gold by fire ; for all
 M. ÆMILIUS “other marks are common to both ; yet I have
 LEPIDUS. “one argument to persuade me, that they real-
 “ly love me ; because both my condition and
 “theirs is such, as puts them under no tempta-
 “tion to dissemble : and as for him, who has
 “all power, I see no reason to fear any thing ;
 “unless that all things become of course uncer-
 “tain, when justice and right are once deserted :
 “nor can we be sure of any thing, that depends
 “on the will, not to say the passion of another.
 “Yet I have not in any instance particularly of-
 “fended him, but behaved myself all along with
 “the greatest moderation ; for as once I took it
 “to be my duty, to speak my mind freely in
 “that City, which owed its freedom to me ; so
 “now, since that is lost, to speak nothing that
 “may offend him, or his principal friends : but
 “if I would avoid all offence, of things said fa-
 “cetiously or by way of raillery, I must give
 “up all reputation of wit ; which I would not
 “refuse to do, if I could. But as to Cæsar
 “himself, he has a very piercing judgment ;
 “and as your brother Servius, whom I take to
 “have been an excellent Critic, would readily
 “say, *this verse is not Plautus’s, that verse is ;*
 “having formed his ears by great use, to di-
 “stinguish the peculiar stile and manner of dif-
 “ferent Poets ; so Cæsar, I hear, who has al-
 “ready collected some volumes of Apophthegms,
 “if any thing be brought to him for mine,
 “which is not so, presently rejects it : which he
 “now does the more easily, because his friends
 “live

“ live almost continually with me; and in the
 “ variety of discourse, when any thing drops
 “ from me, which they take to have some hu-
 “ mor or spirit in it, they carry it always to him,
 “ with the other news of the Town, for such
 “ are his orders: so that if he hears any thing
 “ besides of mine from other persons, he does not
 “ regard it; I have no occasion therefore for your
 “ example of Ænomaus, though aptly applied
 “ from Accius: for what is the envy, which
 “ you speak of? or what is there in me to be
 “ envied now? but suppose there was every
 “ thing: it has been the constant opinion of Phi-
 “ losophers, the onely men in my judgement,
 “ who have a right notion of virtue, *that a wise*
 “ *man has nothing more to answer for, than to keep*
 “ *himself free from guilt*; of which I take my-
 “ self to be clear, on a double account; be-
 “ cause I both pursued those measures, which
 “ were the justest; and when I saw, that I had
 “ not strength enough to carry them, did not
 “ think it my business to contend by force with
 “ those, who were too strong for me. It is
 “ certain therefore, that I cannot be blamed, in
 “ what concerns the part of a good Citizen: all
 “ that is now left, is not to say or do any thing
 “ foolishly and rashly against the men in power;
 “ which I take also to be the part of a wise man.
 “ As for the rest, what people may report to be
 “ said by me, or how he may take it, or with
 “ what sincerity those live with me, who now so
 “ assiduously court me, it is not in my power to
 “ answer. I comfort myself therefore with the
 “ consciousness of my former conduct, and the
 “ moderation of my present; and shall apply
 “ your similitude from Accius, not onely to the
 “ case of envy, but of fortune; which I consider

A. Urb. 707.
 Cic. 61.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR III.
 M. ÆMILIUS
 LEPIDUS.

- A. Urb. 707. " as light and weak, and what ought to be re-
 Cic. 61. " pelled by a firm and great mind, as waves by
 Coss. " a rock. For since the Greek History is full
 C. JULIUS " of examples, how the wisest men have en-
 CÆSAR III. " dured Tyrannies at Athens or Syracuse; and
 M. ÆMILIUS " when their Cities were enslaved, have lived
 LEPIDUS. " themselves in some measure free; why may
 " not I think it possible to maintain my rank so,
 " as neither to offend the mind of any, nor hurt
 " my own dignity?—*Ec.* [o]"

PÆTUS having heard, that Cæsar was *going to divide some lands in his neighbourhood to the soldiers*, began to be afraid for his own estate, and writes to Cicero, to know how far that distribution would extend: to which Cicero answers;
 " Are not you a pleasant fellow, who when
 " Balbus has just been with you, ask me what
 " will become of those towns and their lands?
 " as if either I knew any thing, that Balbus
 " does not; or if at any time I chance to know
 " any thing, I do not know it from him: nay,
 " it is your part rather, if you love me, to let
 " me know what will become of me: for you
 " had it in your power to have learnt it from
 " him, either sober, or at least when drunk.
 " But as for me, my dear Pætus, I have done
 " enquiring about those things: first, because
 " we have already lived near four years, by
 " clear gain, as it were: if that can be called
 " gain, or this, life, to outlive the Republic:
 " secondly, because I myself seem to know what
 " will happen; for it will be, whatever pleases
 " the strongest; which must always be decided
 " by arms: it is our part therefore, to be con-
 " tent with what is allowed to us: he who cannot

“ submit to this, ought to have chosen death. A. Urb. 707.
 “ They are now measuring the fields of Veixæ Cic. 61.
 “ and Capenæ: this is not far from Tusculum: Coss.
 “ yet I fear nothing: I enjoy it whilst I may; C. JULIUS
 “ wish that I always may; but if it should hap- CÆSAR III.
 “ pen otherwise, yet since, with all my courage M. ÆMILIUS
 “ and philosophy, I have thought it best to live, LEPIDUS.
 “ I cannot but have an affection for him, by
 “ whose benefit I hold that life: who, if he
 “ has an inclination to restore the Republic, as
 “ he himself perhaps may desire, and we all
 “ ought to wish, yet he has linked himself so
 “ with others, that he has not the power to do
 “ what he would. But I procede too far; for
 “ I am writing to you: be assured however of
 “ this, that not onely I, who have no part in their
 “ councils, but even the Chief himself does not
 “ know what will happen. We are slaves to
 “ him, he to the times: so neither can he
 “ know, what the times will require, nor we,
 “ what he may intend, &c. [p].”

THE Chiefs of the *Cæsarian party*, who
 courted Cicero so much at this time, were Bal-
 bus, Oppius, Matius, Panfa, Hirtius, Dolabel-
 la: they were all in the first confidence with
 Cæsar, yet professed the utmost affection for Ci-
 cero; were every morning at his levee, and per-
 petually engaging him to sup with them; and
 the two last employed themselves in a daily ex-
 ercise of *declaming at his house*, for the benefit
 of his instruction; of which he gives the fol-
 lowing account in his familiar way to Pætus:
 “ Hirtius and Dolabella are my scholars in speak-
 “ ing; my masters in eating: for you have
 “ heard, I guess, how they declame with me,

[f] Ep. fam. 9. 17.

Z 2

“ I sup

A. Urb. 707. "I sup with them." In another Letter he tells
 Cic. 61. him, "that as King Dionysius, when driven
 Coss. "out of Syracuse, turned school-master at Co-
 C. JULIUS "rinth, so he, having lost his kingdom of the
 CÆSAR III. "Forum, had now opened a School—to which
 M. ÆMILIUS "he merrily invites Pætus, with the offer of a
 LEPIDUS. "seat and cushion next to himself, as his Usher
 "[q]." But to Varro more seriously, "I
 "acquainted you, *says he*, before, that I am in-
 "timate with them all, and assist at their coun-
 "sils: I see no reason why I should not—for
 "it is not the same thing, *to bear what must be*
 "*born, and to approve what ought not to be ap-*
 "*proved.*" And again; "I do not forbear to sup
 "with those who now rule: what can I do?
 "we must comply with the times [r]."

The only use which he made of all this favor was, to screen himself from any particular calamity in the general misery of the times; and to serve those unhappy men, who were driven from their country and their families, for their adherence to that cause, which he himself had espoused. Cæsar was desirous indeed to engage him in his measures, and attach him insensibly

[q] Hirtium ego & Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cœnandi magistros: puto enim te audisse—illos apud me declamitare, me apud eos cœnitare. Ib. 16.

Ut Dionysius Tyrannus, cum Syracusis pulsus esset, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuisse, sic ego—amisso regno forensi, ludum quasi habere cœperim—sella tibi erit in ludo, tanquam Hypodasculo, proxima: eam pul-

vinus sequetur. Ib. 18.

[r] Ostentavit tibi, me istis esse familiarem, & consiliis eorum interesse. Quod ego cur nolim nihil video. Non enim est idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, & probare, si quid probandum non est. Ib. 6.

Non desino apud istos, qui nunc dominantur, cœnitare. Quid faciam? tempori serviendum est. Ib. 7.

to his interests : but he would bear no part in an administration, established on the ruins of his country ; nor ever cared to be acquainted with their affairs, or to inquire what they were doing : so that whenever he entered into their counsils, as he signifies above to Varro, it was onely when the case of some exiled friend required it ; for whose service he scrupled no pains of solliciting, and attending even Cæsar himself ; though he was sometimes shocked, as he complains, *by the difficulty of access, and the indignity of waiting in an Antichamber* ; not indeed through Cæsar's fault, who was always ready to give him audience ; but from the multiplicity of his affairs, by whose hands *all the favors of the Empire were dispensed* [s]. Thus in a Letter to Ampius, whose pardon he had procured,—“ I have solicited your cause, *says he*, more eagerly than “ my present situation would well justify : for “ my desire to see you, and my constant love “ for you, most assiduouly cultivated on your “ part, over-ruled all regard to the present weak “ condition of my power and interest. Every “ thing that relates to your return and safety is “ promised, confirmed, fixed, and ratified: I “ saw, knew, was present at every step: for “ by good luck, I have all Cæsar's friends engaged to me by an old acquaintance and “ friendship : so that next to him they pay the “ first regard to me: Panfa, Hirtius, Balbus, “ Oppius, Matius, Postumius, take all occasions “ to give me proof of their singular affection. “ If this had been sought and procured by me,

A. Urb, 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.

[s] Quod si tardius fit nia petuntur, aditus ad eum quam volumus, magnis occupacionibus ejus, a quo omnibus difficiliores fuerunt.— Ep. fam. 6. 13.

- A. Urb. 707. " I should have no reason, as things now stand,
 Cic. 61. " to repent of my pains : but I have done no-
 Coff. " thing with the view of serving the times ; I
 C. JULIUS " had an intimacy of long standing with them
 CÆSAR III. " all ; and never gave over solliciting them on
 M. ÆMILIUS " your behalf : I found Pansa however the
 LEPIDUS, " readiest of them all to serve you, and oblige
 " me ; who has not onely an interest, but au-
 " thority with Cæsar, &c. [t]."

BUT while he was thus carested by Cæsar's friends, he was not less followed, we may imagine, by the friends of the Republic : these had always looked upon him as the chief Patron of their liberty ; whose counsils, if they had been followed, would have preserved it ; and whose authority gave them the only hopes that were left, of recovering it : so that his house was as much frequented, and his levee as much croud-
ed, as ever ; since people now flocked, he says, to see a good Citizen, as a sort of rarity [u]. In another Letter, giving a short account of his way of life, he says, " Early in the morning, I
 " receive the compliments of many honest men,
 " but melancholy ones ; as well as of these gay
 " Conquerors ; who shew indeed a very offici-
 " ous and affectionate regard to me. When
 " these visits are over, I shut myself up in my
 " Library, either to write or read : Here some
 " also come to hear me, as a man of learning ;
 " because I am somewhat more learned than
 " they : the rest of my time I give to the care
 " of my body : for I have now bewailed my

[t] Ib. 6. 12.

[u] Cum salutationi nos
 dedimus amicorum ; quæ sit
 hoc etiam frequentius, quam

solebat, quod quasi avem al-
 bam, videntur bene sentien-
 tem civem videre, abdo me
 in Bibliothecam. Ib. 7. 28.

“country longer, and more heavily, than any
“mother ever bewailed her onely Son [x].”

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.

It is certain, that there was not a man in the Republic so particularly engaged, both by principle and interest, to wish well to it's liberty, or who had so much to lose by the subversion of it as he: for as long as it was governed by civil methods, and stood upon the foundation of it's laws, he was undoubtedly the first Citizen in it; had the chief influence in the Senate; the chief authority with the people: and as all his hopes and fortunes were grounded on the peace of his country, so all his labors and studies were perpetually applied to the promotion of it: it is no wonder therefore, in the present situation of the City, oppressed by arms, and a tyrannical power, to find him so particularly impatient under the common misery, and expressing so keen a sense of the diminution of his dignity, and the disgrace of serving, where he had been used to govern.

CÆSAR, on the other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcilable to his usurped dominion, yet out of friendship to the man, and a reverence for his character, was determined to treat him with the greatest humanity: and by all the marks of personal favor, to make his life not onely tolerable, but

[x] Hæc igitur est nunc vita nostra. Mane salutamus domi & bonos viros multos, sed tristes, & hos lætos victores; qui me quidem perofficiose & peramanter observant. Ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, aut scribo aut lego. Veni-

unt etiam qui me audiunt, quasi doctum hominem, quia paullo sum, quam ipsi, doctior. Inde corpori omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi jam gravius & diutius quam ulla mater unicum filium. Ep. fam. 9. 20.

A. Urb. 707. easy to him: yet all that he could do, had no
 Cic. 61. other effect on Cicero, than to make him think
 Coss. and speak sometimes favorably of the *natural*
 C. JULIUS *clemency of their master*; and to entertain some
 CÆSAR III. hopes from it, that he would one day be per-
 M. ÆMILIUS suaded to restore the public liberty: but exclu-
 LEPIDUS. sive of that hope, he never mentions his go-
 vernment, but as a real *Tyranny*; or his person
 in any other stile, than as the oppressor of his
 Country.

BUT he gave a remarkable proof at this time
 of his being no temporiser, by writing a book *in*
praise of Cato; which he published within a few
 months after Cato's death. He seems to have
 been left a *Guardian to Cato's Son*; as he was
 also *to young Lucullus, Cato's Nephew* [y]: and
 this testimony of Cato's friendship and judge-
 ment of him, might induce him the more readi-
 ly to pay this honor to his memory. It was a
 matter however of no small deliberation, in what
 manner he ought to treat the subject: his friends
 advised him, not to be too explicit and particu-
 lar in the detail of Cato's praises; but to con-
 tent himself with a general encomium, for fear
 of irritating Cæsar, by pushing the Argument too
 far. In a Letter to Atticus, he calls this, "an
 " *Archimedean problem*; but I cannot hit upon
 " any thing, *says he*, that those friends of yours
 " will read with pleasure, or even with pa-
 " tience; besides, if I should drop the account
 " of Cato's Votes and Speeches in the Senate,
 " and of his political conduct in the State, and
 " give a slight commendation onely of his con-
 " stancy and gravity, even this may be more,
 " than they will care to hear: but the man can-

[y] Ad Att. 13. 6. De Finib. 3. 2.

" not

“not be praised, as he deserves, unless it be A. Urb. 707.
 “particularly explained, how he foretold all that Cic. 61.
 “has happened to us; how he took arms to Coff.
 “prevent its happening; and parted with life C. JULIUS
 “rather than see it happen [z].” These were CÆSAR III.
 the topics, which he resolved to display with all M. ÆMILIUS
 his force; and from the accounts given of the LEPIDUS.
 work by antiquity, it appears, that he had spared
 no pains to adorn it, but *extolled Cato’s virtue*
and character to the skies [a].

THE book was soon spread into all hands;
 and Cæsar, instead of expressing any resentment,
 affected to be much pleased with it; yet declar-
 ed, that he would answer it: and Hirtius in the
 mean while, drew up a little piece in the form
 of a *Letter to Cicero*, filled with objections to
Cato’s character, but with high compliments to Ci-
cero himself; which Cicero took care to make
public, and calls it a specimen of what Cæsar’s
work was like to be [b]. Brutus also composed
 and published a piece on the same subject; as
 well as another friend of Cicero, Fabius Gal-

[z] Sed de Catone ἀρχιμύθεον est. Non
 assequor ut scribam, quod
 tui convivæ non modo li-
 benter, sed etiam æquo ani-
 mo legere possint. Quin e-
 tiam si a sententiis ejus dic-
 tis, si ab omni voluntate,
 consiliisque quæ de Repub.
 habuit, recedam; φιλάςque
 velim gravitatem constanti-
 amque ejus laudare, hoc ip-
 sum ἀνίσταται. Sed vere
 laudari ille vir non potest,
 nisi hæc ornata sint, quod
 ille ea, quæ nunc sunt, &
 futura viderit, & ne fierent

contenderit, & facta ne vide-
 ret, vitam reliquerit. Ad
 Att. 12. 4.

[a] M. Ciceronis libro,
 quo Catonem cælo æquavit,
 &c. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

[b] Qualis futura sit Cæ-
 saris vituperatio contra lau-
 dationem meam perspexi ex
 eo libro, quem Hirtius ad
 me misit, in quo colligit vi-
 tia Catonis, sed cum maxi-
 mis laudibus meis. Itaque
 misi librum ad Muscam, ut
 tuis librariis daret. Volo
 eum divulgari, &c. Ad Att.
 12. 40. it. 41.

A. Urb. 707. lus [c]: but these were but little considered in
 Cic. 61. comparison of Cicero's: and Brutus had made
 Coff. some mistakes in his account of the transactions,
 C. JULIUS in which Cato had been concerned, especially
 CÆSAR III. *in the debates on Catiline's plot*; in which he had
 M. ÆMILIUS given him *the first part and merit*, in derogation
 LEPIDUS. even of Cicero himself [d].

CÆSAR's answer was not published till the next year, upon his return from Spain; after the defeat of Pompey's *Sons*. It was a labored invective; answering Cicero's book paragraph by paragraph, and accusing *Cato with all the art and force of his Rhetoric, as if in a public trial before Judges* [e]; yet with expressions of great respect towards Cicero; whom, for his virtues and abilities, he compared to *Pericles and Themistocles of Athens* [f]: and in a Letter upon it to Balbus, which was shewn by his order to Cicero, he said, *that by the frequent reading of Cicero's Cato, he was grown more copious; but after he had read Brutus's, thought himself even eloquent* [g].

[c] Catonem tuum mihi mitte. Cupio enim legere. Ep. fam. 7 24.

[d] Catonem primum sententiam putat de animadversione dixisse, quam omnes ante dixerant præter Cæsarem, &c.—Ad Att. 12. 21.

From this and other particulars, which are mentioned in the same Letter, we may observe, that Sallust had probably taken his account of the debates upon *Catiline's Accomplices*, from *Brutus's life of Cato*, and chosen

to copy even his mistakes, rather than do justice to Cicero on that occasion.

[e] Ciceronis libro—quid aliud Dictator Cæsar, quam rescripta oratione, velut apud Judices respondit? Tacit. Ann. 4. 34. it. Quintil. 3. 7.

[f] Plutar. in Cic.

[g] Legi epistolam: multa de meo Catone, quo sæpiissime legendo se dicit copiosorem factum; Bruti Catone lecto, se sibi visum disertum. Ad Att. 13. 46.

THESE two rival pieces were much celebrated in Rome; and had their several admirers, as different parties and interests disposed men, to favor the subject or the author of each: and it is certain, that they were the principal cause of establishing and propagating that veneration, which posterity has since paid to the memory of Cato. For his name being thrown into controversy, in that critical period of the fate of Rome, by the Patron of liberty on the one side, and the oppressor of it on the other, became of course a kind of *Political test* to all succeeding ages; and a perpetual argument of dispute between the friends of liberty, and the flatterers of power. But if we consider his character without prejudice, he was certainly a great and worthy man; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty: yet falsely measuring all duty by the absurd rigor of the *Stoical* rule, he was generally disappointed of the end, which he sought by it, the happiness both of his private and public life. In his private conduct, he was severe, morose, inexorable; banishing all the softer affections, as natural enemies to justice, and as suggesting false motives of acting, from favor, clemency, and compassion: in public affairs he was the same; had but one rule of policy; *to adhere to what was right*; without regard to times or circumstances, or even to a force that could controul him: for instead of managing the power of the Great, so as to mitigate the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of violence by a perpetual defiance; so that, *with the best intentions in the world, he often did great harm to the Republic*. This was his general behaviour; yet from some particular facts explained above, it appears, that his strength of mind was not always

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.

A. Urb. 707. ways impregnable, but had its weak places of
 Cic. 61. pride, ambition, and party zeal; which when
 Coss. managed and flattered to a certain point, would
 C. JULIUS betray him sometimes into measures contrary to
 CÆSAR III. his ordinary rule of right and truth. The last
 M. ÆMILIUS act of his life was agreeable to his nature and
 LEPIDUS. philosophy: *when he could no longer be, what he
 had been; or when the ills of life overbalanced the
 good; which, by the principles of his sect, was
 a just cause for dying [b]; he put an end to his
 life, with a spirit and resolution, which would
 make one imagine, that he was glad to have
 found an occasion of dying in his proper character.*
 On the whole, his life was rather admirable,
 than amiable; fit to be praised, rather than imi-
 tated [i].

As soon as Cicero had published his *Cato*, he wrote his piece called *the Orator*, at the request of Brutus; containing the plan or delineation of what he himself esteemed the most perfect eloquence or manner of speaking. He calls it *the fifth part or book*, designed to complete the argument of *his Brutus*, and the other three, on the same subject. It was received with great approbation; and in a Letter to Lepta, who had complimented him upon it, he declares, *that what-*

[b] In quo enim plura sunt, quæ secundum naturam sunt, hujus officium est in vita manere: in quo autem aut sunt plura contraria, aut fore videntur, hujus officium est e vita excedere. De Fin. 3. 18.

Vetus est enim; ubi non sis, qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

[i] Cato sic abiit e vita,

ut causam moriundi natum se esse gauderet. — cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, &c. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 30.

Catoni. — moriundum potius, quam Tyranni vultus adspiciendus fuit. De Offic. 1. 31.

Non immaturus decessit: vixit enim, quantum debuit vivere. Senec. Consol. ad Marc. 20.

ever judgement he had in speaking, he had thrown A. Urb. 707.
it all into that work, and was content to risk his Cic. 61.
reputation on the merit of it [k]. Coff.

HE now likewise spoke that famous speech of C. JULIUS
thanks to Cæsar, for the pardon of M. Marcellus ; CÆSAR III.
which was granted upon the intercession of the M. ÆMILIUS
Senate. Cicero had a particular friendship with LEPIDUS.
all the family of the Marcelli ; but especially
with this Marcus ; who from the defeat of Pom-
pey at Pharsalia, retired to Mitylene in Lesbos,
where he lived with so much ease and satisfaction
to himself in a philosophical retreat, that Ci-
cero, as it appears from his Letters, was forced
to use all his art and authority to persuade him
to return, and take the benefit of that grace,
which they had been laboring to obtain for him [l].
But how the affair was transacted, we may learn
from Cicero's account of it to Serv. Sulpicius,
who was then Proconsul of Greece — “ Your
“ condition, says he, is better than ours in this
“ particular, that you dare venture to write your
“ grievances ; we cannot even do that with safe-
“ ty : not through any fault of the Conqueror,
“ than whom nothing can be more moderate,
“ but of victory itself, which in civil wars is al-
“ ways insolent : we have had the advantage of
“ you however in one thing ; in being acquaint-
“ ed a little sooner than you, with the pardon
“ of your colleague Marcellus : or rather indeed
“ in seeing how the whole affair passed ; for I
“ would have you believe, that from the begin-

[k] Ita tres erunt de Ora-
tore : quartus, Brutus : quin-
tus, Orator. De Div. 2. 1.

Oratorem meum tantopere
a te probari, vehementer gau-
deo : mihi quidem sic per-

suadeo, me quicquid habu-
erim judicii in dicendo, in
illum librum contulisse. Ep.
fam. 6. 18.

[l] Ep. fam. 4. 7, 8, 9.

“ ning

A. Urb. 707. "ning of these miseries, or ever since the public
 Cic. 61. "right has been decided by arms, there has
 Coss. "nothing been done besides this with any dig-
 C. JULIUS "nity. For Cæsar himself, after having com-
 CÆSAR III. "plained of the moroseness of Marcellus, for
 M. ÆMILIUS "so he called it, and praised in the strongest
 LEPIDUS. "terms the equity and prudence of your con-
 "duct, presently declared beyond all our hopes,
 "that whatever offence he had received from
 "the man, he could refuse nothing to the inter-
 "cession of the Senate. What the Senate did
 "was this : upon the mention of Marcellus by
 "Piso, his Brother Caius having thrown him-
 "self at Cæsar's feet, they all rose up, and went
 "forward in a supplicating manner towards Cæ-
 "sar : in short, this day's work appeared to me
 "so decent, that I could not help fancying that
 "I saw the image of the old republic reviving :
 "when all therefore, who were asked their opi-
 "nions before me, had returned thanks to Cæ-
 "sar, excepting Volcatius, (for he declared,
 "that he would not have done it, though he
 "had been in Marcellus's place,) I, as soon as
 "I was called upon, changed my mind ; for I
 "had resolved with myself to observe an eternal
 "silence, not through any laziness, but the loss
 "of my former dignity ; but Cæsar's greatness
 "of mind, and the laudable zeal of the Senate,
 "got the better of my resolution. I gave thanks
 "therefore to Cæsar in a long speech, and have
 "deprived myself by it, I fear, on other occa-
 "sions, of that honest quiet, which was my
 "only comfort in these unhappy times : but
 "since I have hitherto avoided giving him of-
 "fence, and if I had always continued silent,
 "he would have interpreted it perhaps, as a
 "proof of my taking the Republic to be ruined,
 " I shall

“ I shall speak for the future not often, or rather
 “ very seldom; so as to manage at the same
 “ time both his favor, and my own leisure for
 “ study [m].”

A. Urb. 707.
 Cic. 61.
 Coff.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR III.
 M. ÆMILIUS
 LEPIDUS.

CÆSAR, though he saw the Senate unanimous in their petition for Marcellus, yet took the pains to call for the particular opinion of every Senator upon it: a method never practised, except in cases of debate, and where the house was divided: but he wanted the usual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace; and had a mind probably to make an experiment of Cicero's temper, and to draw from him especially some incense on the occasion; nor was he disappointed of his aim; for Cicero, touched by his generosity, and greatly pleased with the act itself, on the account of his friend, returned thanks to him in a speech, which, though made upon the spot, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment, is superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity. The many fine things, which are said in it of Cæsar, have given some handle indeed for a charge of insincerity against Cicero: but it must be remembered, that he was delivering a speech of thanks, not onely for himself, but in the name and at the desire of the Senate, where his subject naturally required the embellishments of Oratory; and that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, *that Cæsar intended to restore the Republic: of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of Cæsar's principal friends* [n]. This therefore he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old

[m] Ep. fam. 4. 4. curæ & esse, ut habeamus aliquam Rempublicam. Ep. Cæsari, collegæ nostro, fore fam. 13. 68.

A. Urb. 707. Roman; and no reasonable man will think it
 Cic. 61. strange, that so free an address to a Conqueror,
 Coss. in the height of all his power, should want to be
 C. JULIUS tempered with some few strokes of flattery. But
 CÆSAR III. the following passage from the oration itself will
 M. ÆMILIUS justify the truth of what I am saying.
 LEPIDUS.

“ If this, says he, Cæsar, was to be the end
 “ of your immortal acts, that after conquering
 “ all your enemies, you should leave the Repub-
 “ lic in the condition, in which it now is; con-
 “ sider, I beseech you, whether your divine vir-
 “ tue would not excite rather an admiration of
 “ you, than any real glory: for glory is the il-
 “ lustrious fame of many and great services either
 “ to our friends, our country, or to the whole
 “ race of mankind. This part therefore still re-
 “ mains; there is one act more to be performed
 “ by you; to establish the Republic again, that
 “ you may reap the benefit of it yourself in peace
 “ and prosperity. When you have paid this
 “ debt to your country, and fulfilled the ends of
 “ your nature by a satiety of living, you may
 “ then tell us, if you please, that you have lived
 “ long enough: yet what is it after all, that we
 “ can really call long, of which there is an end;
 “ for when that end is once come, all past plea-
 “ sure is to be reckoned as nothing, since no
 “ more of it is to be expected. Though your
 “ mind, I know, was never content with these
 “ narrow bounds of life, which nature has as-
 “ signed to us, but inflamed always with an ar-
 “ dent love of immortality: nor is this in-
 “ deed to be considered as your life, which is
 “ comprized in this body and breath; but that,
 “ that, I say, is your life, which is to flourish in
 “ the memory of all ages: which posterity will
 “ cherish, and eternity itself propagate. It is to
 “ this

“ this that you must attend ; to this that you
 “ must form yourself : which has many things
 “ already to admire, yet wants something still,
 “ that it may praise in you. Posterity will be
 “ amazed to hear and read of your commands,
 “ provinces ; the Rhine, the Ocean, the Nile ;
 “ your innumerable battles, incredible victories,
 “ infinite monuments, splendid triumphs : but
 “ unless this City be established again by your
 “ wisdom and counsils, your name indeed will
 “ wander far and wide, yet will have no certain
 “ seat or place at last, where to fix itself. There
 “ will be also amongst those, who are yet un-
 “ born, the same controversy, that has been
 “ amongst us ; when some will extoll your ac-
 “ tions to the skies ; others perhaps will find
 “ something defective in them ; and that one
 “ thing above all, if you should not extinguish
 “ this flame of civil war, by restoring liberty to
 “ your country : for the one may be looked up-
 “ on as the effect of fate, but the other is the
 “ certain act of wisdom. Pay a reverence there-
 “ fore to those Judges, who will pass judgement
 “ upon you in ages to come ; and with less par-
 “ tiality perhaps than we ; since they will neither
 “ be biased by affection or party, nor prejudiced
 “ by hatred or envy to you : and though this, as
 “ some falsely imagine, should then have no re-
 “ lation to you, yet it concerns you certainly at
 “ the present, to act in such a manner, that no
 “ oblivion may ever obscure the luster of your
 “ praises. Various were the inclinations of the
 “ Citizens, and their opinions wholly divided :
 “ nor did we differ onely in sentiments and wishes,
 “ but in arms also and camps : the merits of the
 “ cause were dubious ; and the contention be-
 “ tween two celebrated Leaders : many doubted

A. Urb. 707.
 Cic. 61.
 Cess.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR III.
 M. ÆMILIUS
 LEPIDUS.

- A. Urb. 707. " what was the best ; many what was conveni-
 Cic. 61. " ent ; many what was decent ; some also what
 Coff. " was lawful, &c. [o]"
- C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR III. BUT though Cæsar took no step towards re-
 M. ÆMILIUS storing the Republic, he employed himself this
 LEPIDUS. summer in another work of general benefit to

mankind ; *the reformation of the Kalendar ; by accommodating the course of the year, to the exact course of the Sun ;* from which it had varied so widely, as to occasion a strange confusion in all their accounts of time.

THE Roman year, from the whole institution of Numa, was lunar ; borrowed from the Greeks ; amongst whom it consisted of *three hundred and fifty four days* : Numa added one more to them to make the whole number odd, which was thought the more fortunate ; and to fill up the deficiency of his year to the measure of the solar course, inserted likewise or *intercalated*, after the manner of the Greeks, an extraordinary month of *twenty two days*, every second year, and *twenty three* every fourth, between *the twenty third and twenty fourth day of February* [p] : he committed the care of *intercalating* this month and the super-numerary day, to the College of Priests ; who in process of time partly by a negligent, partly a superstitious, but chiefly by an arbitrary abuse of their trust, used either to drop or insert them, as it was found most convenient to themselves or their friends, to make the current year longer

[o] Pro M. Marcell. 8, 9,
 10.

[p] This was usually called Intercalaris, though Plutarch gives it the name of Mercedonius, which none of the Roman writers mention, ex-

cept that Festus speaks of some days under the title of Mercedoniæ, because the Merces or wages of workmen were commonly paid upon them.

or shorter [q]. Thus Cicero, when harassed by a perpetual course of pleading, prayed, *that there might be no intercalation* to lengthen his fatigue; and when Proconsul of Cilicia, pressed Atticus to exert all his interest, to prevent *any intercalation within the year*; that it might not protract his government, and retard his return to *Rome* [r]. Curio, on the contrary, when he could not persuade the Priests to prolong the year of his Tribunate by an *Intercalation*, made that a pretence for abandoning the Senate, and going over to Cæsar [s].

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.

THIS licence of *intercalating* introduced the confusion above-mentioned, in the computation of their time: so that the order of all their months was transposed from their stated seasons; the winter months carried back into Autumn, the Autumnal into Summer: till Cæsar resolved to put an end to this disorder by abolishing the source of it, the use of *intercalations*; and instead of the *Lunar* to establish the *Solar* year, adjusted to the exact measure of the Sun's revolution in the *Zodiac*, or to that period of time, in which it returns to the point, from which it set out: and as this, according to the Astronomers of that age, was supposed to be *three hundred and sixty five days, and six hours*, so he divided the days into

[q] Quod institutum perire a Numa, posteriorum Pontificum negligentia dissolutum est. De Leg. 2. 12. vid. Cenforin. de die Nat. c. 20. Macrob. Sat. 1. 14.

[r] Nos hic in multitudine & celebritate judiciorum — ita destinemur, ut quotidie vota faciamus ne intercalatur. Ep. fam. 7. 2.

Per fortunas primum illud præfulci atque præmuni quæso, ut finis annui; ne intercaletur quidem. Ad Att. 5. 13. it. 9.

[s] Levissime enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum & pro Cæsare loqui cœpit. Ep. fam. 8. 6. Dio. p. 148.

A. Urb. 707. twelve artificial months, and to supply the deficiency of the six hours, by which they fell short of the Sun's complete course, he ordered a day to be intercalated after every four years, between the twenty third and twenty fourth of February [t].

Cic. 61.
Coss.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR III.

M. ÆMILIUS

LEPIDUS.

BUT to make this new Year begin, and proceed regularly, he was forced to insert into the current year, *two extraordinary months*, between November and December; the one of *thirty three*, the other of *thirty four days*; besides the ordinary *intercalary month of twenty three days*, which fell into it of course; which were all necessary to fill up the number of days, that were lost to the old year, by the omission of *intercalations*, and to replace the months in their proper seasons [u]. All this was effected by the care and skill of Sosigenes, a celebrated *Astronomer of Alexandria*, whom Cæsar had brought to Rome for that purpose [x]: and a *new Kalendar* was formed upon it by Flavius a *Scribe*, digested according to the order of the Roman Festivals, and the old manner of computing their days by *Kalends, Ides, and Nones*; which was published and authorized by the *Dictator's Edict*, not long after his return from *Afric*. This year therefore was the longest, that Rome had ever known; consisting of *fifteen months*, or *four hundred and forty five days*, and is called *the last of the confusion* [y]; because it introduced

[x] This day was called *Bissextus*, from its being a repetition or duplicate of the *Sixth of the Kalends of March*, which fell always on the 24th; and hence our *Intercalary or Leap-year* is still called *Bissextile*.

[u] Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis janua-

riis nobis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem & Decembrem mensem adjecit duos alios: fuitque is annus—xv. mensium cum Intercalario, qui ex consuetudine eum annum inciderat. Suet. J. Cæs. 40.

[x] Plin. Hist. N. 18. 25.

[y] Adnitente sibi M. Flavio

roduced *the Julian, or solar year*, with the commencement of the ensuing January; which continues in use to this day in all Christian Countries, without any other variation, than that of *the old and new stile*—[z].

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.

SOON after the affair of Marcellus, Cicero had another occasion of trying both his eloquence and interest with Cæsar, in the cause of Ligarius; who was now in exile on the account of his having been in arms against Cæsar, *in the African war*, in which he had born a considerable command. His two Brothers however had always been on Cæsar's side; and being recommended by Panfa, and warmly supported by Cicero, had almost prevailed for his pardon; of which Cicero gives the following account in a Letter to Ligarius himself.

Cicero to Ligarius.

“ I would have you be assured, that I employ my whole pains, labor, care, study, in

vio scriba, qui scriptos dies singulos ita ad Dictatorem detulit, ut & ordo eorum inveniri facillime posset, & invento, certus status perseveraret — eaque re factum est, ut annus confusionis ultimus in quadringentos quadraginta tres dies tenderetur. Macrobi. Sat. I. 14. Dio. 227.

MACROBIUS makes this year to consist of 443 days, but he should have said 445, since, according to all accounts, ninety days were added to the old year of 355.

[z] This difference of *the old and new stile* was occasioned by a regulation made

by Pope Gregory A. D. 1582. for it having been observed, that the computation of *the Vernal Equinox* was fallen back ten days from the time of *the Council of Nice*, when it was found to be on *the 21st of March*; according to which all the festivals of the Church were then solemnly settled; Pope Gregory, by the advice of Astronomers, caused ten days to be entirely sunk and thrown out of the current year, between the 4th and 15th of October.

A a 3

“ procuring

- A. Urb. 707. “ procuring your restoration : for as I have ever
 Cic. 61. “ had the greatest affection for you, so the sin-
 Coss. “ gular piety and love of your Brothers, for
 C. JULIUS “ whom, as well as yourself, I have always
 CÆSAR III. “ professed the utmost esteem, never suffer me
 M. ÆMILIUS “ to neglect any opportunity of my duty and ser-
 LEPIDUS. “ vice to you. But what I am now doing, or
 “ have done, I would have you learn from their
 “ Letters, rather than mine ; but as to what I
 “ hope, and take to be certain in your affair,
 “ that I chuse to acquaint you with myself : for
 “ if any man be timorous in great and dangerous
 “ events, and fearing always the worst, rather
 “ than hoping the best, I am he ; and if this be
 “ a fault, confess myself not to be free from it ;
 “ yet on the twenty seventh of November, when,
 “ at the desire of your Brothers, I had been
 “ early with Cæsar, and gone through the trou-
 “ ble and indignity of getting access and audi-
 “ ence ; when your Brothers and relations had
 “ thrown themselves at his feet, and I had said,
 “ what your cause and circumstances required, I
 “ came away persuaded, that your pardon was
 “ certain : which I collected, not onely from
 “ Cæsar’s discourse, which was mild and gene-
 “ rous, but from his eyes and looks, and many
 “ other signs, which I could better observe than
 “ describe. It is your part therefore, to behave
 “ yourself with firmness and courage ; and as
 “ you have born the more turbulent part pru-
 “ dently, to bear this calmer state of things
 “ chearfully : I shall continue still to take the
 “ same pains in your affairs, as if there was the
 “ greatest difficulty in them, and will heartily
 “ supplicate in your behalf, as I have hitherto
 “ done, not onely Cæsar himself, but all his
 “ friends,

“ friends, whom I have ever found more affecti- A. Urb. 707.
“ onate to me. Adieu. [a]” Cic. 61.

WHILE Ligarius’s affair was in this hopefull C. JULIUS
way, Q. Tubero, who had an old quarrel with CÆSAR III.
him, being desirous to obstruct his pardon, and M. ÆMILIUS
knowing Cæsar to be particularly exasperated LEPIDUS.
against all those, *who through an obstinate aversion*
to him, had renewed the war in Afric, accused
him, in the usual forms, of an uncommon zeal
and violence in prosecuting that war. Cæsar
privately encouraged the prosecution, and or-
dered the cause to be tried *in the Forum*, where
he sat upon it in person, strongly prepossessed
against the Criminal, and determined to lay hold
on any plausible pretence for condemning him :
but the force of Cicero’s eloquence, exerted with
all his skill in a cause, which he had much at
heart, got the better of all his prejudices, and
extorted a pardon from him against his will.

THE merit of this speech is too well known,
to want to be enlarged upon here : those, who
read it, will find no reason to charge Cicero with
flattery : but the free spirit, which it breaths, in
the face of that power, to which it was suing
for mercy, must give a great idea of the art of
the speaker, who could deliver such bold truths
without offence ; as well as of the generosity of
the Judge, who heard them not onely with pa-
tience, but approbation.

“ Observe, Cæsar, says he, with what fide-
“ lity I plead Ligarius’s cause, when I betray
“ even my own by it. O that admirable clemen-
“ cy, worthy to be celebrated by every kind of
“ praise, letters, monuments ! M. Cicero de-
“ fends a criminal before you, by proving him

[a] Ep. fam. 6. 14.

A a 4

“ not

- A. Urb. 707. “ not to have been in those sentiments, in which
 Cic. 61. “ he owns himself to have been ; nor does he
 Coff. “ yet fear your secret thoughts, or while he is
 C. JULIUS “ pleading for another, what may occur to you
 CÆSAR III. “ about himself. See, I say, how little he is
 M. ÆMILIUS “ afraid of you. See with what a courage and
 LEPIDUS. “ gaiety of speaking your generosity and wisdom
 “ inspire me. I will raise my voice to such a
 “ pitch, that the whole Roman people may hear
 “ me. After the war was not onely begun,
 “ Cæsar, but in great measure finished, when I
 “ was driven by no necessity, I went by choice
 “ and judgment to join myself with those, who
 “ had taken arms against you. Before whom do
 “ I say this ? why before him, who, though he
 “ knew it to be true, yet restored me to the Re-
 “ public, before he had even seen me ; who
 “ wrote to me from Egypt, that I should be
 “ the same man, that I had always been ; and
 “ when he was the onely Emperor within the
 “ dominion of Rome, suffered me to be the
 “ other ; and to hold my laurelled Fasces, as long
 “ as I thought them worth holding—[*b*]. Do
 “ you then, Tubero, call Ligarius’s conduct
 “ wicked ? for what reason ? since that cause
 “ has never yet been called by that name : some
 “ indeed call it mistake, others fear ; those who
 “ speak more severely, hope, ambition, hatred,
 “ obstinacy ; or at the worst, rashness ; but no
 “ man, besides you, has ever called it wickedness.
 “ For my part, were I to invent a proper and ge-
 “ nuin name for our calamity, I should take it
 “ for a kind of fatality, that had possessed the un-
 “ wary minds of men ; so that none can think it
 “ strange, that all human counsils were over-

[*b*] Pro Ligar. 3.

“ ruled

“ ruled by a divine necessity. Call us then, if A. Urb. 707.
 “ you please, unhappy; though we can never Cic. 61.
 “ be so, under this Conqueror; but I speak not Coss.
 “ of us who survive, but of those who fell; C. JULIUS
 “ let them be ambitious; let them be angry; CÆSAR III.
 “ let them be obstinate; but let not the guilt of M. ÆMILIUS
 “ crime, of fury, of parricide, ever be charged LEPIDUS.
 “ on Cn. Pompey, and on many of those who
 “ died with him. When did we ever hear any
 “ such thing from you, Cæsar? or what other
 “ view had you in the war, than to defend
 “ yourself from injury?—you considered it from
 “ the first, not as a war but a secession; not as
 “ an hostile, but civil dissension: where both
 “ sides wished well to the Republic: yet through
 “ a difference, partly of counsils, partly of in-
 “ clinations, deviated from the common good:
 “ the dignity of the Leaders was almost equal;
 “ though not perhaps of those that followed
 “ them: the cause was then dubious, since there
 “ was something which one might approve on
 “ either side; but now, that must needs be
 “ thought the best, which the Gods have fa-
 “ vored; and after the experience of your cle-
 “ mency, who can be displeased with that victory,
 “ in which no man fell, who was not actually in
 “ Arms [c]?”

THE Speech was soon made public, and greedily bought by all: Atticus was extremely pleased with it, and very industrious in recommending it; so that Cicero says merrily to him by Letter,
 “ You have sold my Ligarian speech finely:
 “ whatever I write for the future, I will make you
 “ the Publisher:” and again, “ your authority,
 “ I perceive, has made my little oration famous:

[c] Ib. 6.

“ for

A. Urb. 707. "for Balbus and Oppius write me word, that
 Cic. 61. "they are wonderfully taken with it, and have
 Coff. "sent a Copy to Cæsar [d]." The success,
 C. JULIUS which it met with, made Tubero ashamed of the
 CÆSAR III. figure that he made in it; so that he applied to
 M. ÆMILIUS Cicero, to have something inserted in his favor,
 LEPIDUS. with the mention of *his wife, and some of his family*, who were *Cicero's near relations*: but Cicero excused himself, *because the speech was got abroad: nor had he a mind, he says, to make any apology for Tubero's conduct* [e].

LIGARIUS was a man of distinguished zeal for the liberty of his Country: which was the reason both of Cicero's pains to preserve, and of Cæsar's averfeness to restore him. After his return he lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit person to bear a part in the conspiracy against Cæsar; but happening to be taken ill near the time of it's execution, when Brutus, in a visit to him, began to lament, *that he was fallen sick in a very unlucky hour; Ligarius, raising himself presently upon his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, replied: yet still, Brutus, if you mean to do any thing worthy of yourself, I am well* [f]: nor did he disappoint Brutus's opinion of him, for we find him afterwards in the list of the conspirators.

[d] Ligarianam præclare vendidisti. Posthac quicquid scripsero, tibi præconium deferam. Ad Att. 13. 12.

Ligarianam, ut video, præclare auctoritas tua commendavit. Scripsit enim ad me Balbus & Oppius, mirifice se probare, ob eamque causam ad Cæsarem eam se orationem

culam misisse. Ib. 19.

[e] Ad Ligarianam de uxore Tuberonis, & privigna, neque possum jam addere, est enim res pervulgata, neque Tuberonem volo defendere. Mirifice est enim φιλαίτιον. Ib. 20.

[f] Plutarch. in Brut.

IN the end of the year, Cæsar was called away in great hast into Spain to oppose the attempts of Pompey's Sons, who, by the credit of their father's name, were become masters again of all that Province, and with the remains of the troops, which Labienus, Varus, and the other Chiefs, who escaped, had gathered up from Afric, were once more in condition to try the fortune of the field with him : where the great danger, to which he was exposed from this last effort of a broken party, shews how desperate his case must have been, if Pompey himself, with an intire and veteran army, had first made choice of this country for the scene of the war.

CICERO all this while passed his time with little satisfaction at home, being disappointed of the ease and comfort, which he expected from his new marriage : his children, as we may imagine, while their own mother was living, would not easily bear with a *young mother in law* in the house with them. The Son especially was pressing to get a particular appointment settled for his maintenance, and to have leave also to go to Spain, and *make a Campaign under Cæsar* ; whether his Cousin Quintus was already gone : Cicero did not approve this project ; and endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from it ; representing to him *that it would naturally draw a just reproach upon them, for not thinking it enough to quit their former party, unless they fought against it too ; and that he would not be pleased to see his Cousin more regarded there than himself ; and promising withal, if he would consent to stay, to make him an ample and honorable allowance [g].* This diverted

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

[g] De Hispania duo attuli ; primum idem, quod tibi,
me

A. Urb. 708. diverted him from the thoughts of Spain ; though
 Cic. 62. not from the desire of removing from his Father,
 Coff. and taking a separate house in the City, with a
 C. JULIUS distinct family of his own ; but Cicero thought
 CÆSAR it best to send him to Athens, in order to spend
 Dictator III. a few years in the study of Philosophy, and po-
 M. ÆMILIUS lite Letters ; and to make the proposal agreeable,
 LEPIDUS. offered him an appointment, *that would enable*
 Mag. Equit. *him to live as splendidly as any of the Roman Nobility, who then resided there, Bibulus, Acidinus, or Messala [b].* This scheme was accepted, and soon after executed ; and young Cicero was sent to Athens, with *two of his Father's Freedmen, L. Tullius Montanus, and Tullius Marcianus,* as the Intendants and Counsellors of his general conduct, while the particular direction of his studies was left to the principal Philosophers of the place ; and above all to Cratippus, the chief of the *Peripatetic* Sect [i].

IN this uneasy state both of his private and public life, he was oppressed by a new and most cruel affliction, the death of his beloved daughter Tullia ; which happened soon *after her divorce from Dolabella* ; whose manners and humor were intirely disagreeable to her. Cicero had long been deliberating with himself and friends, *whether Tullia should not first send the divorce* ; but a pru-

me vereri vituperationem : non satis esse si hæc arma reliquissimus ? etiam contraria ? deinde fore ut angere-
 tur, cum a fratre familiaritate & omnia gratia vinceretur. Velim magis liberalitate uti mea quam sua libertate, —
 Ad Att. 12. 7.

[b] Præstabo nec Bibulum, nec Acidinum, nec Messalam,

quos Athenis futuros audio, majores sumptus facturos, quam quod ex eis mercedibus accipietur. Ib. 32.

[i] L. Tullium Montanum nosti, qui cum Cicerone profectus est. Ib. 52, 53.

Ququam te, Marce fili, annum jam audientem Cratippum, &c. De Off. 1. 1. it. 2. 2.

dential

dential regard to Dolabella's power and interest with Cæsar, which was of use to him in these times seems to have withheld him [k]. The case was the same with Dolabella, he was willing enough to part with Tullia, but did not care to break with Cicero, whose friendship was a credit to him; and whom gratitude obliged him to observe and reverence; since Cicero had twice defended and preserved him in capital causes [l]: so that it seems most probable, that *the divorce was of an amicable kind*; and executed at last by the consent of both sides: for it gave no apparent interruption to the friendship between Cicero and Dolabella, which they carried on with the same shew of affection, and professions of respect towards each other, as if the relation had still subsisted.

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

TULLIA died in childbed, *at her husband's house* [m]; which confirms the probability of their agreement in the divorce: it is certain at least, that she died in Rome; where Cicero *was detained*, he says, *by the expectation of the birth, and to receive the first payment of her fortune back again from Dolabella, who was then in Spain: she was delivered, as it was thought, very happily, and supposed to be out of danger*; when an unexpected turn in her case put an end to her life, to the inexpressible grief of her Father [n].

WE

[k] Te oro ut de hac misera cogites—melius quidem in pessimis mihi fuit discidio—nunc quidem ipse videtur denunciare—placet mihi igitur, & idem tibi nuncium remitti, &c. Ad Att. xi. 23. vid. ib. 3.

Quod scripsi de nuncio remittendo, quæ sit istius vis hoc tempore, & quæ concii-

tatio multitudinis, ignoro. Si metuendus iratus est, quies tamen ab illa fortasse nascetur. Ep. fam. 14. 13.

[l] Cujus ego salutem duobus capitis judiciis summa contentione defendi—Ep. fam. 3. x.

[m] Plutarch in Cic.

[n] Me Romæ tenuit omnino Tullia meæ partus; sed cum

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR

Dictator III.

M. ÆMILIUS

LEPIDUS.

Mag. Equit.

WE have no account of the issue of this birth, which writers confound with that which happened three years before, when she was delivered at the end of seven months of *a puny male child*: but whether it was from the first, or the second time of her lying in, it is evident, that she left *a Son by Dolabella*, who survived her, and whom Cicero mentions more than once in his Letters to Atticus, by the name of Lentulus [o]: desiring him *to visit the Child*, and see a due care taken of him, and *to assign him what number of servants he thought proper* [p].

TULLIA was about two and thirty years old at the time of her death; and by the few hints, which are left of her character, appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman: she was most affectionately and piously observant of her Father; and to the usual graces of her sex, hav-

cum ea quemadmodum spero, satis firma sit, tenor tamen, dum a Dolabellæ procuratoribus exigam primam pensionem. — Ep. fam. 6. 18.

[o] The Father's names were Publius Cornelius Lentulus Dolabella; the two last being surnames acquired perhaps by adoption, and distinguishing the different branches of the Cornelian family.

[p] Velim aliquando, cum erit tuum commodum, Lentulum puerum visas, eique de mancipiis, quæ tibi videbitur, attribuas — ad Att. 12. 28.

Quod Lentulum invisis, valde gratum. Ib. 30 — vid. etiam 18. —

N. B. Mr. Bayle declares himself surprized, *to find Asconius Pæd. so ill informed of the history of Tullia, as to tell us, that after Piso's death, she was married to P. Lentulus, and died in child-bed at his house*: in which short account, there are contained, he says, *two or three lies*. But Plutarch confirms the same account; and the mistake will rest at last, not on Asconius, but on Mr. Bayle himself, who did not reflect, from the authority of those Ancients, that Lentulus was one of Dolabella's names, by which he was called indifferently, as well as by any of the rest. See Bayl. Diction. Artic. Tullia, not. k.

ing

ing added the more solid accomplishments of *knowledge and polite letters*, was qualified to be the companion as well as the delight of his age; and was justly esteemed not onely as one of *the best, but the most learned* of the Roman Ladies. It is not strange therefore, that the loss of such a daughter, in the prime of her life, and the most comfortless season of his own, should affect him with all that grief, which the greatest calamity could imprint on a temper naturally timid and desponding.

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
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LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

PLUTARCH tells us, *that the Philosophers came from all parts to comfort him*; but that can hardly be true, except of those, who lived at Rome, or in his own family; for his first care was, to shun all company as much as he could, by removing to Atticus's house; where he lived chiefly in the Library; endeavouring to relieve his mind, *by turning over every book, which he could meet with on the subject of moderating grief* [q]: but finding his residence here too public, and a greater resort to him than he could bear, he retired to Astura, one of his seats near Antium; *a little island on the Latian shore at the mouth of a river of the same name, covered with woods and groves, cut out into shady walks*; a scene of all others the fittest to indulge melancholy, and where he could give a free course to his grief. "Here, says he, I live without the speech of man: every morning early I hide myself in the thickest of the wood, and never come out till the evening: next to yourself, nothing is so dear to me, as this solitude: my whole conversation is with my books; yet that is

[q] Me mihi non defuisse scriptum est, quod ego non tu testis es, nihil enim de domi tuæ legerim. Ad Att. mœrore minuendo ab ullo 12. 14.

" sometimes

A. Urb. 708. "sometimes interrupted by my tears, which I
Cic. 62. "resist as well as I can, but am not yet able to
Coff. "do much [*r*]."

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR

Dictator III.

M. ÆMILIUS

LEPIDUS.

Mag. Equit.

ATTICUS urged him to quit this retirement, and divert himself with business, and the company of his friends; and put him gently in mind, that, by afflicting himself so immoderately, he would hurt his character, and give people a handle to censure his weakness: to which he makes the following answer.

"As to what you write, that you are afraid, lest the excess of my grief should lessen my credit and authority; I do not know what men would have of me. Is it, that I should not grieve? that is impossible: or that I should not be oppressed with grief? who was ever less so? when I took refuge at your house, was any man ever denied access to me? or did any one ever come, who had reason to complain of me? I went from you to Astura: where those gay sparks, who find fault with me, are not able even to read so much as I have written: how well, is nothing to the purpose, yet it is of a kind which no body could write with a disordered mind—I spent a month in my gardens about Rome; where I received all who came, with the same easiness as before. At this very moment, while I am employing my whole time in reading and writing, those, who are with me, are more fatigued with their leisure, than

[*r*] In hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque mane in sylvam me abstrusis densam & asperam, non exeo inde ante vesperam. Secundum te, nihil mihi amicus

solitudine. In ea mihi omnis sermo est cum litteris; eum tamen interpellat fletus: cui repugno quoad possum, sed adhuc pares non sumus. Ib. 15.

"I with

“ I with my pains. If any one asks, why I am
 “ not at Rome; because it is vacation time: why
 “ not in some of my villa’s, more suitable to
 “ the season; because I could not easily bear so
 “ much company. I am, where he, who has
 “ the best house at Baiæ, chuses to be, in this
 “ part of the year. When I come to Rome, no-
 “ body shall find any thing amiss, either in my
 “ looks or discourse: as to that chearfulness,
 “ with which we used to season the misery of
 “ these times, I have lost it indeed for ever; but
 “ will never part with my constancy and firm-
 “ ness, either of mind or speech, &c. [s].”

A. Urb. 708.
 Cic. 62.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR
 Dictator III.
 M. ÆMILIUS
 LEPIDUS.
 Mag. Equit.

ALL his other friends were very officious like-
 wise in making their compliments of condolence,
 and administering arguments of comfort to him:
 among the rest, Cæsar himself, in the hurry of
 his affairs in Spain, wrote him a Letter on the
 occasion, dated from *Hispalis, the last of April* [t]:
 Brutus wrote another, *so friendly and affectionate,*
that it greatly moved him [u]: Lucceius also, one
 of the most esteemed writers of that age, sent
 him two; the first to condole, the second to ex-
 postulate with him for persevering, to cherish an
 unmanly and useless grief [x]: but the following
 Letter of Ser. Sulpicius is thought to be a master-
 piece of the consolatory kind.

Ser. Sulpicius to M. T. Cicero.

“ I was exceedingly concerned, as indeed I
 “ ought to be, to hear of the death of your

[s] Ad Att. 12. 40.

& prudenter & amice, multas

[t] A Cæsare litteras ac-
 cepi consolatorias, datas prid.

tamen mihi lacrimas attule-
 runt. Ib. 12. 13.

Kal. Maii, Hispali. Ad Att.
 13. 20.

[x] Vid. Ep. fam. 5. 13.
 14.

[u] Bruti litteræ scriptæ

VOL. II.

B b

“ daughter

A. Urb. 708. " daughter Tullia; which I looked upon as an
 Cic. 62. " affliction common to us both. If I had been
 Coff. " with you, I would have made it my business
 C. JULIUS " to convince you, what a real share I take in
 CÆSAR " your grief. Though that kind of consola-
 Dictator III. " tion is but wretched and lamentable, as it is
 M. ÆMILIUS " to be performed by friends and relations, who
 LEPIDUS. " are overwhelmed with grief, and cannot en-
 Mag. Equit. " ter upon their task without tears, and seem to
 " want comfort rather themselves, than to be
 " in condition to administer it to others. I re-
 " solved therefore to write to you in short, what
 " occurred upon it to my own mind: not that
 " I imagined, that the same things would not
 " occur also to you, but that the force of your
 " grief might possibly hinder your attention to
 " them. What reason is there then to disturb
 " yourself so immoderately on this melancholy
 " occasion? consider how fortune has already
 " treated us; how it has deprived us of what
 " ought to be as dear to us as children; our
 " country, credit, dignity, honors. After so
 " miserable a loss as this, what addition can it
 " possibly make to our grief, to suffer one mis-
 " fortune more? or how can a mind, after being
 " exercised in such trials, not grow callous, and
 " think every thing else of inferior value? but
 " is it for your daughter's sake that you grieve?
 " yet how often must you necessarily reflect, as
 " I myself frequently do, that those cannot be
 " said to be hardly dealt with, whose lot it has
 " been in these times, without suffering any af-
 " fliction, to exchange life for death. For
 " what is there in our present circumstances that
 " could give her any great invitation to live?
 " what business? what hopes? what prospect
 " of comfort before her? was it to pass her
 " days

“ days in the married state, with some young
 “ man of the first quality? (for you, I know,
 “ on the account of your dignity, might have
 “ chosen what son-in-law you pleased out of all
 “ our youth, to whose fidelity you might safely
 “ have trusted her,) was it then for the sake of
 “ bearing children, whom she might have had
 “ the pleasure to see flourishing afterwards, in
 “ the enjoyment of their paternal fortunes, and
 “ rising gradually to all the honors of the state,
 “ and using the liberty, to which they were
 “ born, in the protection of their friends and
 “ clients? but what is there of all this, which
 “ was not taken away, before it was even given
 “ to her? but it is an evil, you’ll say, to lose
 “ our children. It is so; yet it is much greater
 “ to suffer, what we now endure. I cannot
 “ help mentioning one thing, which has given
 “ me no small comfort, and may help also per-
 “ haps to mitigate your grief. On my return
 “ from Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina to-
 “ wards Megara, I began to contemplate the
 “ prospect of the countries around me: Ægina,
 “ was behind, Megara before me; Piræus on
 “ the right; Corinth on the left: all which
 “ towns, once famous and flourishing, now lie
 “ overturned, and buried in their ruins: upon
 “ this sight, I could not but think presently
 “ within myself, alas! how do we poor mortals
 “ fret and vex ourselves, if any of our friends
 “ happen to die, or to be killed, whose life is
 “ yet so short, when the carcases of so many
 “ noble cities lie here exposed before me in one
 “ view? Why wilt thou not then command
 “ thyself, Servius, and remember, that thou
 “ art born a man? Believe me, I was not a lit-
 “ tle confirmed by this contemplation: try the

A. Urb. 708.
 Cic. 62.
 Coff.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR
 Dictator III.
 M. ÆMILIUS
 LEPIDUS.
 Mag. Equit.

- A. Urb. 708. “ force of it therefore, if you please, upon
 Cic. 62. “ yourself; and imagine the same prospect be-
 Coff. “ fore your own eyes. But to come nearer
 C. JULIUS “ home; when you consider how many of our
 CÆSAR “ greatest men have perished lately at once;
 Dictator III. “ what destruction has been made in the Em-
 M. ÆMILIUS “ pire; what havock in all the Provinces; how
 LEPIDUS. “ can you be so much shocked to be deprived
 Mag. Equit. “ of the fleeting breath of one little woman?
 “ who, if she had not died at this time, must
 “ necessarily have died a few years after, since
 “ that was the condition of her being born.
 “ But recall your mind from reflections of this
 “ kind, to the consideration of yourself; and
 “ think rather on what becomes your character
 “ and dignity: that your daughter lived, as
 “ long as life was worth enjoying, as long as
 “ the Republic stood; had seen her Father
 “ Prætor, Consul, Augur; been married to the
 “ noblest of our youth; had tasted every good
 “ in life; and when the Republic fell, then
 “ quitted it: what ground is there then, either
 “ for you, or her, to complain of fortune on
 “ this account? In short, do not forget, that
 “ you are Cicero; one, who has been used al-
 “ ways to prescribe and give advice to others;
 “ nor imitate those paultry Physicians, who pre-
 “ tend to cure other people’s diseases, yet are
 “ not able to cure their own; but suggest rather
 “ to yourself the same lesson, which you would
 “ give in the same case. There is no grief so
 “ great, which length of time will not alle-
 “ viate: but it would be shamefull in you to
 “ wait for that time, and not to prevent it by
 “ your wisdom: besides, if there be any sense
 “ in the dead, such was her love and piety to
 “ you, that she must be concerned to see, how
 “ much

“ much you afflict yourself. Give this therefore to
 “ the deceased; give it to your friends; give it to
 “ your country; that it may have the benefit of
 “ your assistance and advice, whenever there shall
 “ be occasion. Lastly, since fortune has now made
 “ it necessary to us to accommodate ourselves to
 “ our present situation; do not give any one a
 “ handle to think, that you are not so much
 “ bewailing your daughter, as the state of the
 “ times, and the victory of certain persons. I
 “ am ashamed to write any more, lest I should
 “ seem to distrust your prudence; and will add
 “ therefore but one thing farther, and conclude.
 “ We have sometimes seen you bear prosperity
 “ nobly, with great honor and applause to your-
 “ self; let us now see, that you can bear ad-
 “ versity with the same moderation, and with-
 “ out thinking it a greater burthen than you
 “ ought to do: lest in the number of all your
 “ other virtues, this one at last be thought to
 “ be wanting. As to myself, when I under-
 “ stand that your mind is grown more calm and
 “ composed, I will send you word, how all
 “ things go on here, and what is the state of
 “ the Province. Adieu [y].”

A. Urb. 708.
 Cic. 62.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR
 Dictator III.
 M. ÆMILIUS
 LEPIDUS.
 Mag. Equit.

HIS answer to Sulpicius was the same in effect
 with what he gave to all his friends; “ that his
 “ case was different from all the examples,
 “ which he had been collecting for his own
 “ imitation, of men, who had born the loss of
 “ children with firmness; since they lived in
 “ times, when their dignity in the state was able
 “ in great measure to compensate their misfor-
 “ tune: but for me, *says he*, after I had lost all
 “ those ornaments, which you enumerate, and

[y] Ep. fam. 4. 5.

B b 3

“ which

- A. Urb. 708. " which I had acquired with the utmost pains,
 Cic. 62. " I have now lost the onely comfort that was
 Coff. " left to me. In this ruin of the Republic,
 C. JULIUS " my thoughts were not diverted by serving
 CÆSAR " either my friends or my country: I had no
 Dictator III. " inclination to the Forum; could not bear the
 M. ÆMILIUS " flight of the Senate; took myself, as the case
 LEPIDUS. " in truth was, to have lost all the fruit of my
 Mag Equit. " industry and fortunes: yet when I reflected,
 " that all this was common to you, and to ma-
 " ny others, as well as to myself; and was for-
 " cing myself therefore to bear it tolerably; I
 " had still in Tullia, somewhat always to recur
 " to, in which I could acquiesce; and in whose
 " sweet conversation I could drop all my cares
 " and troubles: but by this last cruel wound,
 " all the rest, which seemed to be healed, are
 " broken out again afresh: for as I then could
 " relieve the uneasiness, which the Republic
 " gave me, by what I found at home; so I
 " cannot now, in the affliction which I feel at
 " home, find any remedy abroad; but am dri-
 " ven, as well from my house, as the Forum;
 " since neither my house can ease my public
 " grief, nor the public my domestic one [z]."

THE remonstrances of his friends had but little effect upon him; all the relief that he found, was from reading and writing, in which he continually employed himself; and *did what no man had ever done before him, draw up a treatise of consolation for himself*; from which he professes to have received his greatest comfort; " Though he wrote it, he owns, at a time
 " when, in the opinion of the Philosophers, he
 " was not so wise as he ought to have been:

“ but I did violence, *says he*, to my nature ; to
 “ make the greatness of my sorrow give place
 “ to the greatness of the medicine ; though I
 “ acted against the advice of Chrysippus, who
 “ dissuades the application of any remedy to
 “ the first assaults of grief [a].” In this work
 he chiefly imitated Crantor, *the Academic*, who
 had left a celebrated piece on the same subject ;
*yet he inserted also whatever pleased him, from any
 other author who had written upon it [b] ;* il-
 lustrating his precepts all the way, by examples
 from their own history, *of the most eminent Ro-
 mans of both sexes, who had born the same mis-
 fortune with a remarkable constancy.* This book
 was much read by *the primitive Fathers, especially
 Lactantius ;* to whom we are obliged for *the few
 fragments,* which remain of it : for, as the Cri-
 tics have long since observed, that piece, which
 we now see in the collection of his writings, un-
 der the title of *Consolation*, is undoubtedly spu-
 rious.

A. Urb. 708
 Cic. 62.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR
 Dictator III.
 M. ÆMILIUS
 LEPIDUS.
 Mag. Equit.

[a] Feci, quod ante me
 nemo, ut ipse me per litteras
 consolaretur — affirmo tibi
 nullam consolationem esse ta-
 lem. Ad Att. 12. 14. it. ib.
 28.

Quid ego de consolatione
 dicam ? quæ mihi quidem
 ipsi sane aliquantum mede-
 tur, cæteris item multum il-
 lam profuturam puto. De
 Div. 2. 1.

In consolationis libro, quem
 in medio, (non enim sapien-
 tes eramus) mœrore & dolore
 conscripsimus : quodque ve-
 rat Chrysippus, ad recentes

quasi tumores animi reme-
 dium adhibere, id nos feci-
 mus, naturæque vim adduli-
 mus, ut magnitudini me-
 dicinæ doloris magnitudo
 concederet. Tusc. Disp. 4.
 29.

[b] Crantorem sequor.
 Plin. Præf. Hist. N.

Neque tamen progredior
 longius, quam mihi doctis-
 simi homines concedunt, quo-
 rum scripta omnia, quæcun-
 quæ sunt in eam sententiam
 non legi solum — sed in mea
 etiam scripta transtuli. Ad
 Att. 12. 21. it. 22.

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR

Dictator III.

M. ÆMILIUS

LEPIDUS.

Mag. Equit.

BUT the design of this treatise was, not onely to relieve his own mind, but to consecrate the virtues and memory of Tullia to all posterity: nor did his fondness for her stop here; but suggested the project of a more effectual consecration, *by building a Temple to her*, and erecting her into a sort of *Deity*. It was an opinion of the Philosophers, which he himself constantly favored, and in his present circumstances particularly indulged, “that the souls of men
“were of heavenly extraction: and that the
“pure and chaste, at their dissolution from the
“body, returned to the fountain from which
“they were derived, to subsist eternally in the
“fruition and participation of the Divine Nature; whilst the impure and corrupt were left
“to grovel below in the dirt and darkness of
“those inferior regions.” He declares therefore, “that as the wisdom of the antients had
“consecrated and deified many excellent persons of both sexes, whose Temples were then
“remaining; the progeny of Cadmus; of Amphitryon; of Tyndarus; so he would perform
“the same honour to Tullia; who, if any creature had ever deserved it, was of all the most
“worthy of it. I will do it therefore, *says he*,
“and consecrate thee, thou best and most learned of women, now admitted into the assembly of the Gods, to the regard and veneration
“of all mortals [c].”

IN

[c] Non enim omnibus illi sapientes arbitrati sunt eundem cursum in cœlum patere. Nam vitiis & sceleribus contaminatos deprimi in tenebras, atque in cœno ja-

cere docuerunt; castos autem animos, puros, integros, incorruptos, bonis etiam studiis atque artibus expolitos, leni quodam ac facili lapsu ad Deos, id est, ad naturam sui similem

IN his Letters to Atticus we find the strongest expressions of his resolution, and impatience to see this design executed: "I will have a Temple, *says he*; it is not possible to divert me from it—if it be not finished this summer, I shall not think myself clear of guilt—I am more religiously bound to the execution of it, than any man ever was to the performance of his vow [*d*]." He seems to have designed a Fabric of great magnificence; for he had settled the plan with his Architect, and contracted for Pillars of Chian marble, with a sculptor of that Isle; where both the work and the materials were the most esteemed of any in Greece [*e*]. One reason, that determined him to a Temple, rather than a Sepulchre, was, that in the one he was not limited in the expense, whereas in the other he was confined by law to a certain sum,

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
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M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

similem pervolare — Fragm.
Consolat. ex Lactantio—

Cum vero & mares & fœminas complures ex hominibus in Deorum numero esse videamus, & eorum in urbibus atque agris augustissima templa veneremur, assentiamur eorum sapientiæ, quorum ingeniis & inventis omnem vitam legibus & institutis exultam constitutamque habemus. Quod si ullum unquam animal consecrandum fuit, illud profecto fuit. Si Cadmi, aut Amphitryonis progenies, aut Tyndari in cœlum tollenda fama fuit, huic idem honos certe dicandus est. Quod quidem faciam; teque omnium optimam doctissimamque, ap-

probantibus Diis ipsis, in eorum cœtu locatam, ad opinionem omnium mortalium consecrabo. Ib. — vid. Tusc. Disp. l. 1. c. xi. 12, 30, 31.

[*d*] Fanum fieri volo, neque mihi erui potest. [Ad Att. 12. 36.] Redeo ad Fanum, nisi hac æstate absolutum erit— scelere me liberatum non putabo. [ib. 41.] Ego me majore religione, quam quisquam fuit ullius voti, obstrictum puto. Ib. 43.

[*e*] De Fano illo dico— neque de genere dubito, placet enim mihi Cluatii. [ib. 18.] Tu tamen cum Apella Chio confice de columnis. [ib. 19.] vid. Plin. Hist. N. 36. 5. 6.

which

- A. Urb. 708. which he could not excede, without the forfei-
 Cic. 62. ture of the same summe also to the public: yet
 Coff. this, as he tells us, was not the chief motive,
 C. JULIUS but a resolution, that he had taken, of making
 CÆSAR a proper apotheosis [f]. The onely difficulty
 Dictator III. was
 M. ÆMILIUS
 LEPIDUS.
 Mag. Equit.

[f] Nunquam mihi venit in mentem, quo plus insumtum in monumentum esset, quam nescio quid, quod lege conceditur, tantundem populo dandum esse: quod non magnopere moveret, nisi nescio quomodo, ἀλόγως fortasse. Nollem illud ullo nomine nisi Fani appellari. [Att. 12. 35.] Sepulcri similitudinem effugere non tam propter pœnam legis studeo, quam ut maxime assequar ἀποθεωσιν. Ib. 36.

This fact seems to confirm what the Author of the book of *Wisdom* observes on the origin of Idolatry; that it was owing to the fond affection of Parents, seeking to do honor to their deceased children. *The Father*, says he, *oppressed with an unexpected grief for the sudden death of his child, after making an image of him, began to worship him as a God, though he was but a dead man, and enjoined certain rites and mysteries to his servants and dependents.* [Wisd. xiv. 15.] But it was not Cicero's real thought after all to exalt his daughter into a Deity: he knew it to be absurd, as he often declares, to pay *divine*

honors to dead mortals; and tells us, how their very *Publicans* had decided that question in *Bœotia*: for when the lands of the *Immortal Gods* were excepted out of their lease, by the law of the *Censors*, they denied, that any one could be deemed an immortal God, who had once been a man; and so made the lands of *Amphiaraus* and *Trophonius* pay the same taxes with the rest. [de Nat. Deor. 3. 19]. Yet in a political view he sometimes recommends the worship of those sons of men, whom their eminent services to mankind had advanced to the rank of inferior Gods, as it inculcated, in a manner the most sensible, the doctrine of the *Soul's Immortality*: [de Leg. 2. xi.] And since a temple was the most antient way of doing honor to those dead, who had deserved it; [Plin. Hist. 27.] he considered it as the most effectual method of perpetuating the memory and praises of *Tullia*; and was willing to take the benefit of the popular superstition, and follow the example of those Antients, who had polished and civilized human life, by consecrating

was to find a place that suited his purpose : his first thought was *to purchase certain gardens cross the Tiber*, which lying near the city, and in the public view, were the most likely to draw a resort of votaries to his new Temple : “ he preferred Atticus therefore to buy them for him at any rate, without regard to his circumstances ; since he would sell, or mortgage, or be content to live on little, rather than be disappointed : Groves and remote places, *he says*, were proper onely for Deities of an established name and religion ; but for the Deification of mortals, public and open situations were necessary, to strike the eyes, and attract the notice of the people.” But he found so many obstructions in all his attempts of purchasing, that to save trouble and expence, Atticus advised him, *to build at last in one of his own villa's* ; to which he seemed inclined, lest the summer should pass without doing any thing : yet he was irresolute still, which of his villa's he should chuse ; and discouraged, by reflecting on the *change of masters*, to which all private estates were exposed, in a succession of ages ; which might defeat the end of his building, and destroy the honor of his Temple ; by converting it to other uses, or suffering it to fall into ruins [g].

BUT

consecrating such patterns of virtue to the veneration of their fellow Citizens. Vid. Mongault. Not. 1. ad Att. 12. 18.

[g] Sed ineunda nobis ratio est, quemadmodum in omni mutatione dominorum, qui innumerabiles fieri pos-

sunt in infinita posteritate — illud quasi consecratum remanere possit. Equidem jam nihil egeo vectigalibus, & parvo contentus esse possum. Cogito interdum trans Tiberim hortos aliquos parare, & quidem ob hanc causam maxime ; nihil enim video quod

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. BUT after all his eagerness and sollicitude
 Cic. 62. about this *Temple*, it was never actually built by
 Coff. him; since we find no mention of it in any of
 C. JULIUS the ancient writers; which could not have been
 CÆSAR omitted, if a fabric so memorable had ever been
 Dictator III. erected [b]. It is likely, that as his grief eva-
 M. ÆMILIUS porated, and his mind grew more calm, he be-
 LEPIDUS. gan to consider his project more philosophically;
 Mag. Equit. and to perceive the vanity of expecting any last-
 ing glory from such monuments, which time it-
 self, in the course of a few ages, must necessarily
 destroy: it is certain at least, that as he made no
 step towards building it this summer, so Cæsar's
 death, which happened before the next, gave
 fresh obstruction to it, by the hurry of affairs, in
 which it engaged him; and though he had not
 still wholly dropt the thoughts of it, but conti-
 nued to make preparation, and to set apart a
 fund for it [i]; yet in the short and busy scene

quod tam celebre esse posset.
 [ad Att. 12. 19.] De hortis,
 etiam atque etiam te rogo.
 [ib. 22.] Ut sæpe locuti su-
 mus, commutationes domino-
 rum reformido. [ib. 36.] Ce-
 lebritatem requiro. ib. 37.

[b] Cælius Rhodiginus tells us, that in the time of Sixtus the 4th, there was found near Rome on the Ap-
 pian way, over-against the Tomb of Cicero, the body of a woman, whose hair was dressed up in network of gold, and which, from the inscription, was thought to be the body of Tullia. It was intire, and so well pre-
 served by spices, as to have suffered no injury from time;

yet when it was removed in-
 to the City, it mouldered away in three days. But this was only the hasty con-
 jecture of some learned of that time, which, for want of authority to support it,
 soon vanished of itself; for no inscription was ever pro-
 duced to confirm it, nor has it been mentioned, that I know of, by any other au-
 thor; that there was any se-
 pulchre of Cicero, on the Appian way — vid. Cæl. Rhod. Læction. antiq. l. 3. c. 24.

[i] Quod ex istis fructuosis rebus receptum est, id ego ad illud sanum sepositum pu-
 tabam. Ad Att. 15. 15.

of life, which remained to him, he never had A. Urb. 708.
leisure enough to carry it into execution. Cic. 62.

He was now grown so fond of solitude, that
all company was become uneasy to him; and
when his friend Philippus, the Father-in-law of C. JULIUS
Octavius, happened to come to his villa in that CÆSAR
neighbourhood, he was not a little disturbed at Dictator III.
it, from the apprehension of being teized with M. ÆMILIUS
his visits; and he tells Atticus, with some plea- LEPIDUS.
sure, *that he had called upon him onely to pay a Mag. Equit.*
short compliment, and went back again to Rome,
without giving him any trouble [k]. His wife
Publilia also wrote him word, *that her Mother*
and Brother intended to wait upon him, and that
she would come along with them, if he would give
her leave; which she begged in the most earnest
and submissive terms—but his answer was, *that*
he was more indisposed than ever to receive compa-
ny, and would not have them come: and lest they
should come without leave, he desires Atticus to
watch their motions, and give him notice, *that he*
might contrive to avoid them [l]. A denial so
peremptory confirms what Plutarch says, *that*
his wife was now in disgrace with him, on account
of her carriage towards his daughter, and for
seeming to rejoice at her death: a crime, which,
in the tenderness of his affliction, appeared to

[k] Mihi adhuc nihil pri-
us fuit hac solitudine, quam
vereor, ne Philippus tollat:
heri enim vesperi venerat.
Ib. 12. 16.

Quod eram veritus, non
obturbavit Philippus: nam
ut heri me salutavit, statim
Romam profectus est. Ib. 18.

[l] Publilia ad me scrip-
sit, matrem suam cum Pub-

lilio ad me venturam, & se
unâ, si ego paterer: orat
multis & supplicibus verbis
ut liceat, & ut sibi rescribam
—rescripsi, me etiam gra-
vius esse affectum, quam tum,
cum illi dixissem, me solum
esse velle, quare nolle me
hoc tempore eam ad me ve-
nire—— te hoc nunc rogo
ut explores. Ib. 32.

him

A. Urb. 708. him so heinous, that he could not bear the
 Cic. 62. thoughts of seeing her any more; and though it
 Coff. was inconvenient to him, to part with her for-
 C. JULIUS tune at this time, yet he resolved to send her a
 CÆSAR divorce, as a proper sacrifice to the honor of
 Dictator III. Tullia [m].
 M. ÆMILIUS
 LEPIDUS.
 Mag. Equit.

BRUTUS likewise about this time took a resolution of putting away his wife Claudia, for the sake of taking Porcia, *Bibulus's widow, and his Uncle Cato's daughter*. But he was much censured for this step; since Claudia had no stain upon her character; was nobly born; the Sister of Appius Claudius; and nearly allied to Pompey; so that his Mother Servilia, though Cato's Sister, seems to have been averse to the divorce, and strongly in the interest of Claudia, against her Niece. Cicero's advice upon it was, *that if Brutus was resolved upon the thing, he should do it out of hand*, as the best way to put an end to people's talking; by shewing, that it was not done out of levity or complaisance to the times, but to take *the daughter of Cato*, whose name was now highly popular [n]: which Brutus soon after complied with, and made Porcia his wife.

THERE happened another accident this summer, which raised a great alarm in the City; *the surprizing death of Marcellus*, whom Cæsar

[m] This affair of Publia's divorce is frequently referred to, though with some obscurity, in his Letters; and we find Atticus employed by him afterwards to adjust with the Brother Publilius, the time and manner of paying back the fortune. Vid. ad Att. 13. 34, 47: 16. 2.

[n] A te expecto si quid

de Bruto: quanquam Nicias confectum putabat, sed divortium non probari. — Ad Att. 13. 9.

Brutus si quid — curabis ut sciam. Cui quidem quam primum agendum puto, præsertim si statuit; sermunculum enim omnem aut restinxerit aut sedarit. Ib. 10.

had

had lately pardoned. He had left Mitylene, and was come as far as Piræus, on his way towards Rome; where he spent a day, with his old friend and colleague, Serv. Sulpicius, intending to pursue his voyage the day following by sea; but in the night, after Sulpicius had taken leave of him, *on the twenty-third of May*, he was killed by his friend and client, Magius, who *stabbed himself instantly, with the same poignard*: of which Sulpicius sent the following account to Cicero.

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

Serv. Sulpicius to M. T. Cicero.

“THOUGH I know that the news, which I
“am going to tell you, will not be agreeable,
“yet since chance and nature govern the lives
“of us all, I thought it my duty to acquaint
“you with the fact, in what manner soever it
“happened. On the twenty-second of May I
“came by sea from Epidaurus to Piræus, to
“meet my colleague Marcellus, and for the sake
“of his company, spent that day with him
“there. The next day, when I took my leave
“of him, with design to go from Athens into
“Bœotia, to finish the remaining part of my
“jurisdiction, he, as he told me, intended to
“set sail at the same time towards Italy. The
“day following, about four in the morning,
“when I was preparing to set out from Athens,
“his friend, P. Postumius, came to let me
“know, that Marcellus was stabbed by his
“companion P. Magius Cilo after supper, and
“had received two wounds, the one in his sto-
“mach, the other in his head near the ear,
“but he was in hopes still, that he might live;
“that Magius presently killed himself; and
“that

- A. Urb. 708. " that Marcellus sent him to inform me of the
 Cic. 62. " case, and to desire, that I would bring some
 Coff. " Physicians to him. I got some together im-
 C. JULIUS " mediately, and went away with them before
 CÆSAR " break of day: but when I was come near Pi-
 Dictator III. " ræeus, Acidinus's boy met me with a note
 M. ÆMILIUS " from his master, in which it was signified, that
 LEPIDUS. " Marcellus died a little before day. Thus a
 Mag. Equit. " great man was murdered by a base villain;
 " and he, whom his very enemies had spared
 " on the account of his dignity, received his
 " death from the hands of a friend. I went
 " forward however to his tent, where I found
 " two of his freedmen, and a few of his slaves;
 " all the rest, they said, were fled, being in a
 " terrible fright, on the account of their master's
 " murder. I was forced to carry his body with
 " me into the City, in the same litter in which
 " I came, and by my own servants: where I
 " provided a funeral for him, as splendid as the
 " condition of Athens would allow. I could
 " not prevail with the Athenians, to grant a
 " place of burial for him within the City; they
 " said, that it was forbidden by their religion,
 " and had never been indulged to any man:
 " but they readily granted, what was the most
 " desirable in the next place, to bury him in
 " any of their public Schools, that I pleased. I
 " chose a place therefore, the noblest in the
 " Universe, *the School of the Academy*, where I
 " burnt him; and have since given orders, that
 " the Athenians should provide a Marble Mo-
 " nument for him in the same place. Thus I
 " have faithfully performed to him, both when
 " living and dead, every duty, which our part-
 " nership in office, and my particular relation
 " to

“to him required. Adieu. The thirtieth of A. Urb. 708.
“May from Athens [o].” Cic. 62.

M. MARCELLUS was the head of a family, C. JULIUS
which, for a succession of many ages, had made CÆSAR
the first figure in Rome, and was himself adorned Dictator III.
with all the virtues, that could qualify him to M. ÆMILIUS
sustain that dignity, which he derived from his LEPIDUS.
noble ancestors. He had formed himself in a Mag. Equit.
particular manner for the Bar, where he soon
acquired great fame; and, of all the Orators of
his time, seems to have approached the nearest
to Cicero *himself*, in the character of a complete
Speaker. His manner of speaking was *elegant*,
strong, and copious; with a sweetness of voice,
and propriety of action, that added a grace and lus-
ter to every thing that he said. He was a constant
admirer and imitator of Cicero, of the same prin-
ciples in peace, and on the same side in war; so
that Cicero laments his absence, as the loss of a
companion and partner, in their common studies
and labors of life. Of all the Magistrates, he
was the fiercest opposer of Cæsar’s power, and
the most active to reduce it: his high spirit, and
the ancient glory of his house, made him impa-
tient under the thought of receiving a master;
and when the battle of Pharsalia seemed at last
to have imposed one upon them, he retired to
Mitylene, the usual resort of men of learning;
there to spend the rest of his days in a studious
retreat, remote from arms, and the hurry of
war; and determined neither to seek, nor to
accept any grace from the Conqueror. Here
Brutus paid him a visit, and found him, as he
gave an account to Cicero, *as perfectly easy and*
happy under all the misery of the times, from the

[o] Ep. fam. 4. 12.

A. Urb. 708. *consciousness of his integrity, as the condition of human life could bear*; surrounded with the principal
 Cic. 62. Scholars and Philosophers of Greece, and eager
 C. JULIUS in the pursuit of knowledge; so that in departing
 CÆSAR from him towards Italy, *he seemed*, he said, *to*
 Dictator III. *be going himself into exile, rather than leaving Mar-*
 M. ÆMILIUS *cellus in it* [p].
 LEPIDUS.
 Mag. Equit.

MAGIUS, who killed him, was of a family which had born some of the publick offices, and had himself been *Questor* [q]; and having attached himself to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through the wars and his exile, was now returning with him to Italy. Sulpicius gives no hint of any cause, that induced him to commit this horrid fact: which, by the immediate death of Magius, could never be clearly known.

[p] Mihi, inquit, Marcellus satis est notus. Quid igitur de illo judicas?—quod habiturus es similem tui—ita est, & vehementer placet. Nam & didicit, & omiſſis cæteris studiis id egit unum, seseque quotidianis commentationibus acerrime exercuit. Itaque & lectis utitur verbis & frequentibus; & splendore vocis, dignitate motus fit speciosum & illustre, quod dicitur; omniaque sic suppetunt, ut ei nullam deesse virtutem oratoris putem. Brut. 367.

Dolebam, Patres conscripti, —illo æmulo atque imitatore studiorum meorum, quasi quodam socio a me & comite distracto—quis enim est illo aut nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentia, aut

ullo genere laudis præstantior?—pro Marcel. 1.

Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Ib. 6.

Qui hoc tempore ipso—in hoc communi nostro & quasi fatali malo, conſoletur se cum conscientia optimæ mentis, tum etiam usurpatione ac renovatione doctrinæ. Vidi enim Mitylenis nuper virum, atque ut dixi, vidi plane virum. Itaque cum eum antea tui similem in dicendo viderim; tum vero nunc doctissimo viro, tibi que ut intellexi, amicissimo Cratippo, instructum omni copia, multo videbam familiorem. Brut. ibid. vid. Senec. Consolat. ad Helv. p. 79.

[q] Vid. Pigh. Annal. A. U. 691.

Cicero's conjecture was, *that Magius, oppressed with debts, and apprehending some trouble on that score at his return, had been urging Marcellus, who was his sponsor for some part of them, to furnish him with money to pay the whole; and by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madness of killing his Patron [r].* Others assign a different reason, *as the rage of jealousy, and the impatience of seeing others more favored by Marcellus, than himself [s].*

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

As soon as the news reached Rome, it raised a general consternation: and from the suspicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were presently turned on Cæsar, as if he were privately the contriver of it; and from the wretched fate of so illustrious a Citizen, every man began to think himself in danger: Cicero was greatly shocked at it, and seemed to consider it, as the prelude of some greater evil to ensue; and Atticus signifying his concern upon it, advises him to take a more particular care of himself, *as being the only consular Senator left*, who stood exposed to any envy [t]. But Cæsar's friends soon cleared him of all suspicion; as indeed the fact itself did, when the circumstances came to be known, and fixt the whole guilt of it on the fury of Magius.

[r] Quanquam nihil habeo quod dubitem, nisi ipsi Magio quæ fuerit causa amentię. Pro quo quidem etiam Sponsor Sunii factus est. Nimirum id fuit. Solvendo enim non erat. Credo eum a Marcello petiisse aliquid, & illum, ut erat, constantius respondisse. Ad Att. 13. 10.

[s] Indignatus aliquem a-

micorum ab eo sibi præferri. Val. Max. 9. 11.

[t] Minime miror te & graviter ferre de Marcello, & plura vereri periculi genera. Quis enim hoc timeret, quod neque acciderat antea, nec videbatur natura ferre, ut accidere posset. Omnia igitur metuenda, &c. Ad Att. 13. 10.

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR

Dictator III.

M. ÆMILIUS

LEPIDUS.

Mag. Equit.

THERE appeared at this time a bold Impostor, who began to make a great noise and figure in Italy, by assuming the name, and pretending to be *the Grandson of Caius Marius*: but apprehending that Cæsar would soon put an end to his pretensions, and treat him as he deserved, he sent a pathetic Letter to Cicero, by some young fellows of his company, to justify his claim and descent, and to implore his protection against the enemies of his family; *conjuring him by their relation; by the poem, which he had formerly written in praise of Marius; by the eloquence of L. Crassus, his mother's Father, whom he had likewise celebrated, that he would undertake the defence of his cause*: Cicero answered him very gravely, *that he could not want a Patron, when his Kinsman Cæsar, so excellent and generous a man, was now the Master of all; yet that he also should be ready to favor him [u]*. But Cæsar, at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, banished him out of Italy; since instead of being, what he pretended to be, he was found to be onely a *Farrier*, whose true name was Herophilus [x].

ARIARATHES the Brother and presumptive heir of Ariobarzanes, *King of Cappadocia*, came

[u] Heri—quidam Urbani, ut videbantur, ad me mandata & litteras attulerunt, a C. Mario, C. F. C. N. multis verbis agere mecum per cognitionem, quæ mihi secum esset, per eum Marium, quem scripssissem, per eloquentiam L. Crassi avi sui, ut se defenderem—rescripsi nihil ei Patrono opus esse, quoniam Cæsaris, propinqui ejus, omnis potestas esset, viri optimi &

hominis liberalissimi; me tamen ei futurum—ad Att. 12. 49.

[x] Herophilus Equarius medicus, C. Marium septies Consulem avum sibi vendicando, ita se extulit, ut coloniarum veteranorum complures & municipia splendida, collegique fere omnia patronum adoptarent—cæterum decreto Cæsaris extra Italiam relegatus, &c. Val. Max. 9. 15.

to Rome this year ; and as Cicero had a particular friendship with his family, and, when Consul, had, by a decree of the Senate, conferred upon his Father the honor of *the Regal Title*, he thought proper to send a servant to meet him on the road, *and invite him to his house* : but he was already engaged by Sestius, whose office it then was, to receive foreign Princes and Embassadors at the public expence ; which Cicero was not displeased with in the present state of his domestic affairs : *he comes*, says he, *I guess, to purchase some kingdom of Cæsar, for he has not at present a foot of land of his own* [y].

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

CICERO's whole time during his solitude was employed in reading and writing : this was the business both of his days and nights : *it is incredible*, he says, *how much he wrote, and how little he slept* : and if he had not fallen into that way of spending his time, he should not have known what to do with himself [z]. His studies were chiefly Philosophical, which he had been fond of from his youth, and, after a long intermission, now resumed with great order ; having taking a resolution, to explain to his Countrymen in their own language, whatever the Greeks had taught on every part of Philosophy whether speculative or

[y] Ariarethes Ariobarzani filius Romam venit. Vult, opinor, regnum aliquod emere a Cæsare : nam, quo modo nunc est, pedem ubi ponat in suo non habet. Omnino eum Sestius noster parochus publicus occupavit : quod quidem facile patior. Verumtamen quod mihi summo beneficio meo, magna eum fratribus illius necessi-

tudo est, invito eum per literas, ut apud me diversetur. Ad Att. 13. 26.

[z] Credibile non est, quantam scribam die, quin etiam noctibus. Nihil enim somni. Ib. 26.

Nisi mihi hoc venisset in mentem, scribere ista nescio quæ, quo verterem me non haberem. Ib. 10.

A. Urb. 708. practical: "For being driven, as he tells us,
 Cic. 62. "from the public administration, he knew no
 Coss. "way so effectual of doing good, as by instruct-
 C. JULIUS "ing the minds, and reforming the morals of
 CÆSAR "the youth; which, in the licence of those
 Dictator III. "times, wanted every help to restrain and cor-
 M. ÆMILIUS "rect them. The calamity of the City, *says he*,
 LEPIDUS. "made this task necessary to me: since in the
 Mag. Equit. "confusion of civil arms, I could neither de-
 "send it after my old way; nor, when it was
 "impossible for me to be idle, could I find any
 "thing better, on which to employ myself. My
 "Citizens therefore will pardon, or rather thank
 "me; that when the government was fallen into
 "the power of a single person, I neither wholly
 "hid, nor afflicted myself unnecessarily; nor
 "acted in such a manner, as to seem angry at
 "the man, or the times; nor yet flattered or
 "admired the fortune of another so, as to be
 "displeased with my own. For I had learnt
 "from Plato and Philosophy, that these turns
 "and revolutions of states are natural; some-
 "times into the hands of *a few*, sometimes of
 "the many, sometimes of *one*: as this was the
 "case of our own Republic, so when I was de-
 "prived of my former post in it, I betook my-
 "self to these studies, in order to relieve my
 "mind from the sense of our common miseries,
 "and to serve my country at the same time in the
 "best manner that I was able: for my books
 "supplied the place of my votes in the Senate;
 "and of my speeches to the people; and I took
 "up philosophy, as a substitute for my manage-
 "ment of the state [*a*]."

[*a*] Divin. 2. 2.—de Fin. 1. 3.

HE now published therefore, in the way of A. Urb. 708.
dialogue, a book, which he called Hortensius, Cic. 62.
in honor of his deceased friend; where in a de- Coss.
bate of learning he did, what he had often done C. JULIUS
in contests of the Bar, undertake the defence of CÆSAR
Philosophy against Hortensius, to whom he assigned Dictator III.
the part of arraigning it [b]. It was the reading M. ÆMILIUS
of this book, long since unfortunately lost, which LEPIDUS.
first inflamed St. Austin, as he himself somewhere Mag. Equit.
declares, *to the study of the Christian Philosophy:*
and if it had yielded no other fruit, yet happy it
was to the world, that it once subsisted, to be
the instrument of raising up so illustrious a con-
vert and champion to *the Church of Christ [c].*

HE drew up also about this time in four books,
a particular account and defence of *the Philosophy*
of the Academy; the sect, which he himself fol-
lowed: being, as he says, *of all others, the most*
consistent with itself, and the least arrogant, as well
as most elegant [d]. He had before published
a work on the same subject in two books; the

[b] Cohorti sumus, ut
maxime potuimus, ad Philo-
sophiæ studium eo libro, qui
est inscriptus, Hortensius—
de Div. 2. 1.

Nos autem universæ Philo-
sophiæ vituperatoribus re-
spondimus in Hortensio. Tul.
Disp. 2. 2.

[c] It is certain, that *all the*
Latin Fathers made great use
of *Cicero's writings;* and es-
pecially Jerom, who was not
so grateful as Austin, in ac-
knowledging the benefit;
for, having conceived some
scruples on that score in his
declining age, he endeavour-

ed to discourage his disciples
from reading them at all;
and declared, *that he had not*
taken either Cicero or Maro,
or any heathen writer into his
hands for above fifteen years:
for which his adversary Ruf-
finus rallies him very severe-
ly. Vid. Hieron, Op. Tom.
4. par. 2. p. 414. it. par. 1.
p. 288. Edit. Benedict.—

[d] Quod genus philoso-
phandi minime arrogans,
maximeque & constans, & e-
legans arbitraremur, quatuor
Academicis libris ostendimus,
De Divin. 2. 1.

A. Urb. 708. one called Catulus, the other Lucullus: but considering *that the argument was not suited to the characters of the speakers*; who were not particularly remarkable for any study of that sort, he was thinking to change them to Cato and Brutus: when Atticus happening to signify to him, that Varro had expressed a desire to be inserted in some of his writings, he presently reformed his scheme, and enlarged it into four Books, which he addressed to Varro; taking upon himself *the part of Philo, of defending the principles of Academy*; and assigning to Varro *that of Antiochus*; of opposing and confuting them; and introducing Atticus, as the moderator of the dispute. He finished the whole with great accuracy; so as to make it a present worthy of Varro; and if he was not deceived, he says, *by a partiality and self-love too common in such cases, there was nothing on the subject equal to it, even among the Greeks* [e]. All these four books, excepting part of the first, are now lost; whilst the second book of the first edition, which he took some pains to suppress, remains still intire, under it's original Title of Lucullus.

He published likewise this year one of the noblest of his works, and on the noblest subject in Philosophy, his treatise called, *de Finibus, or of the chief good and ill of man*; written in Aristotle's

[e] Ergo illam Ἀκαδημαίαν, in qua homines, nobiles illi quidam, sed nullo modo philologi, nimis acute loquuntur, ad Varronem transferamus—Catulo & Lucullo alibi reponemus. — Ad Att. 13. 12.

Quod ad me de Varrone scripseras, totam Academiam

ab hominibus nobilissimis abstuli; transtuli ad nostrum sodalem, & ex duobus libris contuli in quatuor—libri quidem ita exierunt (nisi me forte communis φιλαυδία decipit) ut in tali genere ne apud Græcos quidem quicquam simile. Ib. 13. vide it. ib. 16. 19.

manner [f]; in which he explained with great A. Urb. 708.
elegance and perspicuity, the several opinions of Cic. 62.
all the ancient sects on that most important ques- Coss.
tion. *It is there inquired*, he tells us, *what is the* C. JULIUS
chief end, to which all the views of life ought to be CÆSAR
referred, in order to make it happy: or what it is Dictator III.
which nature pursues as the supreme good, and shuns M. ÆMILIUS
as the worst of ills [g]. The work consists of LEPIDUS,
five books: in the two first, *the Epicurean doc-* Mag. Equit.
trine is largely opened and discussed; being de-
fended by Torquatus, and confuted by Cicero,
in a conference supposed to be held in his *Cuman*
Villa, in the presence of Triarius, a young
Gentleman, who came with Torquatus to visit
him. The two next explain *the doctrine of the*
Stoics, asserted by Cato, and opposed by Cicero,
in a friendly debate, upon their meeting acci-
dentally in *Lucullus's Library*. The fifth con-
tains the opinions of *the old Academy, or the Pe-*
ripateticks, explained by Piso, in a third dialogue,
supposed to be held at Athens, in the presence of
Cicero, his Brother Quintus, Cousin Lucius, and
Atticus. The Critics have observed some im-
propriety in this last book; in making *Piso refer*
to the other two dialogues, of which he had no
share, and could not be presumed to have any
knowledge [h]. But if any inaccuracy of that
kind be really found in this, or any other of his

[f] Quæ autem his tem-
poribus scripsi. Ἀρεστέλειον
morem habent — ita confeci
quinque libros περὶ τελῶν —
ib. 19.

[g] Tum id, quod his li-
bris quæritur, quid sit finis,
quid extremum, quid ulti-
mum, quo sint omnia bene

vivendi, recteque faciendi
consilia referenda. Quid se-
quatur natura, ut summum
ex rebus expetendis; quid fu-
giat ut extremum malorum.
De Fin. 1. 4.

[h] Vid. Præfat. Davis in
Lib. de finib.

works,

A. Urb. 708. works, it may reasonably be excused by that multiplicity of affairs, which scarce allowed him time to write, much less to revise what he wrote: and in dialogues of length composed by piece-meal, and in the short intervals of leisure, it cannot seem strange that he should sometimes forget his artificial, to resume his proper character; and enter inadvertently into a part, which he had assigned to another. He addressed this work to Brutus, in return for a present of the same kind, which Brutus had sent to him a little before, *a treatise upon virtue* [i].

Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

NOT long after he had finished this work, he published another of equal gravity, called his *Tusculan Disputations*; in five books also, upon as many different questions in Philosophy, the most important and useful to the happiness of human life. The first teaches us, *how to contemn the terrors of death, and to look upon it as a blessing, rather than an evil*: the second, *to support pain and affliction with a manly fortitude*: the third, *to appease all our complaints and uneasinesses under the accidents of life*: the fourth, *to moderate all our other passions*: the fifth, *to evince the sufficiency of virtue to make man happy*. It was his custom, in the opportunities of his leisure, to take some friends with him into the country; where instead of amusing themselves with idle sports or feasts, their diversions were wholly speculative; tending to improve the mind, and enlarge the understanding. In this manner he now spent *five days at his Tusculan Villa*, in discussing with his friends the several questions just mentioned: for after employing the mornings in declaiming and rhetorical exercises, they used to retire in the after-

[i] De Finib. 1. 3.

noon into a Gallery, called the *Academy*, which he had built for the purpose of Philosophical conferences: where, after the manner of the Greeks, he held a *School*, as they called it, and invited the company to call for any subject, that they desired to hear explained; which being proposed accordingly by some of the audience, became immediately the argument of that day's debate. These five conferences or dialogues he collected afterwards into writing, *in the very words and manner in which they really passed*, and published them under the title of his *Tusculan Disputations*, from the name of the Villa, in which they were held [k].

He wrote also a little piece, in the way of a *Funeral Encomium*, in praise of *Porcia*; the sister of *Cato*, and wife of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Cæsar's* mortal enemy; which shews how little he was still disposed to court the times. *Varro* and *Lollius* attempted the same subject; and *Cicero* desires *Atticus* to send him their compositions: but all the three are now lost: though *Cicero* took the pains to revise and correct his; and sent copies of it afterwards to *Domitius the Son*, and *Brutus*, the Nephew of that *Porcia* [l].

[k] In Tusculano, cum essent complures mecum Familiares — ponere jubebam, de quo quis audire vellet; ad id aut sedens aut ambulans disputabam. Itaque dierum quinque Scholas, ut Græci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. Tusc. Disp. 1. 4.

Itaque cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dedissemus — post meridiem in *Academiam* descendimus: in qua disputationem habitam non quasi

narrantes exponimus, sed eisdem fere verbis ut actum disputatumque est. Ib. 2. 3. 3. 3.

[l] Laudationem Porciæ tibi nisi correctam: ac eo properavi; ut si forte aut *Domitio* filio aut *Bruto* mitteretur, hæc mitteretur. Id si tibi erit commodum, magnopere cures velim; & velim *M. Varronis*, *Lolliique* mitas laudationem. Ad Att. 13. 48. it. ib. 37.

CÆSAR

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR

Dictator III.

M. ÆMILIUS

LEPIDUS.

Mag. Equit.

CÆSAR continued all this while in Spain, pursuing *the Sons of Pompey*, and providing for the future peace and settlement of the Province; whence he paid Cicero the compliment of sending him an account of his success with his own hand. Hirtius also gave him early intelligence *of the defeat and flight of the two Brothers*; which was not disagreeable to him, for though he was not much concerned about the event of the war, and expected no good from it on either side, yet the opinion, which he had conceived of the fierceness and violence *of the young Pompeys*, especially *of the elder* of them, Cnæus, engaged his wishes rather for Cæsar. In a Letter to Atticus, Hirtius, says he, *wrote me word, that Sextus Pompey had withdrawn himself from Corduba into the bither Spain; and that Cnæus too was fled, I know not whither; nor in truth do I care [m]*: and this indeed seems to have been the common sentiment of all the Republicans: as Cassius himself, writing to Cicero on the same subject, declares still more explicitly; “May I perish, *says he*, if I “be not solicitous about the event of things in “Spain; and would rather keep our old and clement master, than try a new and cruel one. “You know what a fool Cnæus is; how he *takes* “cruelty for a virtue: how he has always thought, “that we laughed at him; I am afraid lest he “should take it into his head to repay our jokes “in his rustic manner with the sword [n].”

[m] Hirtius ad me scripsit, Sex. Pompeium Corduba exisse, & fugisse in Hispaniam citeriorem; Cnæum fugisse nescio quo, neque enim curo. Ad Att. 12. 37.

[n] Peream, nisi sollicitus sum; ac malo veterem ac

clementem dominum habere, quam novum & crudelem experiri. Scis, Cnæus quam fit fatuus; scis quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet; scis, quam se semper a nobis derisum putet.

YOUNG Quintus Cicero, who made the campaign along with Cæsar, thinking to please his company, and to make his fortunes the better among them, began to play over his old game, and to abuse his uncle again in all places. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says, “there is nothing new, but that Hirtius has been quarrelling in my defence, with our Nephew Quintus, who takes all occasions of saying every thing bad of me, and especially at public feasts; and when he has done with me, falls next upon his Father: he is thought to say nothing so credible, as *that we are both irreconcilable to Cæsar; that Cæsar should trust neither of us; and even beware of me*: this would be terrible; did I not see, that our King is persuaded that I have no spirit left [o].”

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

ATTICUS was always endeavouring to moderate Cicero's *impatience* under the present government, and persuading him, to comply more chearfully with the times; nor to reject the friendship of Cæsar, which was so forwardly offered to him: and upon his frequent complaints of the slavery and indignity of his present condition, he took occasion to observe, that Cicero could not but own to be true, *that if to pay a particular court and observance to a man, was the mark of slavery, those in power seemed to be slaves rather*

Vere, ne nos rustice gladio velit ἀντιμνησθῆναι. Ep. fam. 15. 19.

[o] Novi sane nihil, nisi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrimo pro me litigasse; omnibus eum locis facere, maximeque in conviviis; cum multa de me, tum redire ad

Patrem: nihil autem ab eo tam ἀγνοήτως dici, quam alienissimos nos esse a Cæsare; fidem nobis habendam non esse; me vero cavendum. ποβερὸν ἦν, nisi viderem scire Regem, me animi nihil habere—Ad Att. 13. 37.

A. Urb. 708. *to him than he to them* [p]. With the same view
 Cic. 62. he was now pressing him, among his other works,
 Coss. to think of something to be addressed to Cæsar:
 C. JULIUS but Cicero had no appetite to this task; he saw
 CÆSAR how difficult it would be to perform it without
 Dictator III. lessening his character, and descending to flattery;
 M. ÆMILIUS yet being urged to it also by other friends, he
 LEPIDUS. drew up a Letter, which was communicated to
 Mag. Equit. Hirtius and Balbus, for their judgement upon it,
 whether it was proper to be sent to Cæsar. The
 subject seems to have been some advice, about
 restoring the peace and liberty of the Republic;
 and to dissuade him from *the Parthian war*,
 which he intended for his next expedition, till
 he had finished the more necessary work of
 settling the state of things at home: *there was*
nothing in it, he says, *but what might come from*
the best of Citizens. It was drawn however with
 so much freedom, that though Atticus seemed
 pleased with it, yet the other two durst not ad-
 vise the sending it, unless some passages were
 altered and softned; which disgusted Cicero so
 much, that he resolved not to write at all; and
 when Atticus was still urging him to be more
 complaisant, he answered with great spirit in two
 or three Letters [q].

[p] Et si mehercule, ut tu intelligis, magis mihi isti serviunt, si observare servire est. Ad Att. 13. 49.

[q] Epistolam ad Cæsarem mitti video tibi placere—mihi quidem hoc idem maxime placuit, & eo magis, quod nihil est in ea nisi optimi civi sed ita optimi, ut tempora, quibus parere omnes πολλοὶ προæπειναι. Sed

scis ita nobis esse visum, ut isti ante legerent. Tu igitur id curabis. Sed nisi plane intelliges iis placere, mittenda non est. Ad Att. 12. 51.

De Epistola ad Cæsarem, κέκρικα. Atque id ipsum, quod isti aiunt illum scribere, se, nisi constitutis rebus, non iturum in Parthos, idem ego suadebam in illa epistola—ib. 13. 31.

“ As for the Letter to Cæsar, *says he*, I was always very willing, that they should first read it: for otherwise I had both been wanting in civility to them; and if I had happened to give offence, exposed myself also to danger. They have dealt ingenuously and kindly with me, in not concealing what they thought: but what pleases me the most is, that by requiring so many alterations, they give me an excuse for not writing at all. As to the Parthian war, what had I to consider about it, but that which I thought would please him; for what subject was there else for a Letter, but flattery? or if I had a mind to advise, what I really took to be the best, could I have been at a loss for words? there is no occasion therefore for any Letter: for where there is no great matter to be gained, and a slip, though not great, may make us uneasy, what reason is there to run any risk? especially, when it is natural for him to think, that as I wrote nothing to him before, so I should have written nothing now, had not the war been wholly ended: besides, I am afraid lest he should imagine, that I sent this, as a sweetener for my Cato: in short, I was heartily ashamed of what I had written; and nothing could fall out more luckily, than that it did not please [r].”

Again, “ As for writing to Cæsar, I swear to you, I cannot do it: nor is it yet the shame of it that deters me, which ought to do it the most; for how mean would it be to flatter, when even to live is base in me? but it is not, as I was saying, this shame, which hinders

[r] Ad Att. 13. 27.

me,

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
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M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. “ me, though I wish it did; for I should then
 Cic. 62. “ be, what I ought to be; but I can think of
 Coss. “ nothing to write upon. As to those exhorta-
 C. JULIUS “ tions, addressed to Alexander, by the eloquent
 CÆSAR “ and the learned of that time, you see on what
 Dictator III. “ points they turn: they are addressed to a youth,
 M. ÆMILIUS “ inflamed with the thirst of true glory, and de-
 LEPIDUS. “ siring to be advised how to acquire it. On an
 Mag. Equit. “ occasion of such dignity, words can never be
 “ wanting; but what can I do on my subject?
 “ Yet I had scratched, as it were, out of the
 “ block some faint resemblance of an image:
 “ but because there were some things hinted in
 “ it, a little better than what we see done
 “ every day, it was disliked: I am not at all sor-
 “ ry for it; for had the Letter gone, take my
 “ word for it, I should have had cause to re-
 “ pent. For do you not see that very scholar
 “ of Aristotle, a youth of the greatest parts, and
 “ the greatest modesty, after he came to be call-
 “ ed a King, grow proud, cruel, extravagant?
 “ Do you imagine, that this man, ranked in the
 “ processions of the Gods, and inshrined in the
 “ same Temple with Romulus, will be pleased
 “ with the moderate stile of my Letters? It is
 “ better that he be disgusted at my not writing,
 “ than at what I write: in a word, let him do
 “ what he pleases; for that problem, which I
 “ once proposed to you, and thought so difficult,
 “ *in what way I shall manage him*, is over with
 “ me: and in truth, I now wish more, to feel
 “ the effect of his resentment, be it what it will,
 “ than I was before afraid of it [s].” “ I beg of
 “ you therefore, says he, in another Letter, let
 “ us have no more of this; but shew ourselves

“at least *half free*, by our silence and re- A. Urb. 708.
“treat [t].” Cic. 62.

FROM this little fact, one cannot help reflecting on *the fatal effects of arbitrary power*, upon the studies and compositions of men of genius, and on the restraint, that it necessarily lays on the free course of good sense and truth among men. It had yet scarce shewn itself in Rome, when we see one of the greatest men, as well as the greatest wits which that Republic ever bred, embarrassed in the choice of a subject to write upon; and for fear of offending, chusing not to write at all: and it was the same power, which, from this beginning, gradually debased the purity both of the Roman wit and language, from the perfection of elegance, to which Cicero had advanced them, to that state of rudeness and barbarism, which we find in the productions of the lower Empire.

THIS was the present state of things between Cæsar and Cicero; all the marks of kindness on Cæsar's part; of coldness and reserve on Cicero's. Cæsar was determined never to part with his power, and took the more pains, for that reason, to make Cicero easy under it: he seems indeed to have been somewhat afraid of him; not of his engaging in any attempt against his life; but lest by his insinuations, his railleries, and his authority, he should excite others to some act of violence: but what he more especially desired and wanted, was to draw from him some public testimony of his approbation; and to be recommended by his writings to the favor of posterity.

[t] Obsecro, abjiciamus mus; quod assequemur & tasta; & semiliberi saltem si- cendo, & latendo— ib. 31.

A. D. rb. 708.

Cic 62.

Coff.

C JULIUS

CÆSAR

Dicator III.

M. ÆMILIUS

LEPIDUS.

Mag. Equit.

CICERO on the other hand, perceiving no step taken towards the establishment of the Republic, but more and more reason every day to despair of it, grew still more indifferent to every thing else: the restoration of public liberty was the onely condition, on which he could entertain any friendship with Cæsar, or think and speak of him with any respect: without that, no favors could oblige him; since to receive them from a master, was an affront to his former dignity, and but a splendid badge of servitude: books therefore were his onely comfort; for while he conversed with them, he found himself easy, and fancied himself free.

—Thus in a Letter to Cassius, touching upon the misery of the times, he adds, “What is become then, you’ll say, of Philosophy? Why, “yours is in the kitchen; but mine is troublesome to me: for I am ashamed to live a slave; “and feign myself therefore to be doing something else, that I may not hear the reproach “of Plato [u].”

DURING Cæsar’s stay in Spain, Antony set forward from Italy, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at least on the road in his return towards home; but when he had made about half of the journey, he met with some dispatches, which obliged him to turn back in all haste to Rome. This raised a new alarm in the city; and especially among the Pompeians, who were afraid, that Cæsar, having now subdued all opposition, was resolved, after the example of former Conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adversaries; and had sent

[u] Ubi igitur, inquires, Philosophia? Tua quidem in culina; mea molestâ est. Pudet enim servire. Itaque fa-

cio me alias res agere, ne convicium Platonis audiam. Ep. fam. 15. 18.

Antony back, as the properest instrument to execute some orders of that sort. Cicero himself had the same suspicion, and was much surprized at Antony's *sudden return*; till Balbus and Oppius eased him of his apprehensions, by sending him *an account of the true reason of it* [x]: which, contrary to expectation, gave no uneasiness at last to any body, but to Antony himself. Antony had bought *Pompey's Houses in Rome* and the neighbourhood, with all their rich furniture, at *Cæsar's auction*, soon after his return from Ægypt; but trusting to his interest with Cæsar, and to the part, which he had born in advancing him to his power, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them; but Cæsar, being disgusted by the account of his debauches, and extravagancies in Italy, and resolved to shew himself the sole master, nor suffer any contradiction to his will, sent peremptory orders to L. Plancus, the Prætor, to require immediate payment of Antony, or else to levy the money upon his sureties, according to the tenor of their bond. This was the cause of his quick return, to prevent that disgrace from falling upon him, and find some means of complying with Cæsar's commands: it provoked him however to such a degree, that in the height of his resentment, he is said to have entered into a design *of taking away Cæsar's life*; of which Cæsar himself complained openly in the Senate [y].

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

D d 2

THE

[x] Heri cum ex aliorum litteris cognovissem de Antonii adventu, admiratus sum nihil esse in tuis. Ad Att. 12. 18.

De Antonio Balbus quoque ad me cum Oppio conscripsit,

idque tibi placuisse, ne perturbarer. Illis egi gratias, —ib. 19.

[y] Appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas. — & ad te & ad prædes tuos milites

A. Urb. 708. THE war being ended in Spain, by the death
 Cic. 62. of *Cnæus Pompey*, and the flight of *Sextus*, Cæsar
 Coss. finished his answer to Cicero's *Cato*, in two books,
 C. JULIUS which he sent immediately to Rome, in order to
 CÆSAR be published. This gave Cicero at last the argu-
 Dictator III. ment of a Letter to him, to return thanks for the
 M. ÆMILIUS great civility, with which he had treated him in
 LEPIDUS. that piece; and to pay his compliments likewise
 Mag. Equit. in his turn, upon the elegance of the composi-
 tion. This Letter was communicated again to
 Balbus and Oppius, who declared themselves ex-
 tremely pleased with it, and forwarded it directly
 to Cæsar. In Cicero's account of it to Atticus,
 "I forgot, says he, to send you a copy of what
 "I wrote to Cæsar: not for the reason, which
 "you suspect, that I was ashamed to let you see,
 "how well I could flatter: for in truth, I wrote
 "to him no otherwise, than as if I was writing
 "to an equal; for I really have a good opinion
 "of his two books, as I told you, when we
 "were together; and wrote therefore both with-
 "out flattering him; and yet so, that he will
 "read nothing, I believe, with more plea-
 "sure [z]."

CÆSAR

lites misit— [Phil. 2. 29.]
 Idcirco urbem terrore noctur-
 no, Italiam multorum die-
 rum metu perturbasti— ne L.
 Plancus prædes tuos venderet
 — [ib. 31.] Quin his ipsis
 temporibus domi Cæsaris per-
 cussor ab isto missus, depre-
 hensus dicebatur esse cum si-
 ca. De quo Cæsar in Sena-
 tu, aperte in te invehens,
 questus est— ib. 29.

[z] Conscripsi de his li-
 bris epistolam Cæsari, quæ

deferretur ad Dolabellam:
 sed ejus exemplum misi ad
 Balbum & Oppium, scripsi-
 que ad eos, ut tum deferri
 ad Dolabellam juberunt meas
 litteras, si exemplum pro-
 basset; ita mihi rescripse-
 runt, nihil unquam se legisse
 melius. Ad Att. 13. 50.

Ad Cæsarem quam misi
 epistolam, ejus exemplum fu-
 git me tum tibi mittere; nec
 id fuit quod suspicaris, ut me
 puderet tui — nec mehercule
 scripsi

CÆSAR returned to Rome about *the end of* A. Urb. 708. *September*; when divesting himself of the Con- Cic. 62. sulship, he conferred it on Q. Fabius Maximus, Q. FABIVS and G. Trebonius, for the three remaining months of MAXIMVS, the year [a]. His first care, after his arrival, was C. TREBO- to entertain the City with *the most splendid triumph*, NIUS. which Rome had ever seen: but the people, instead of admiring and applauding it, as he expected, were sullen and silent; considering it, as it really was, a triumph over themselves; purchased by the loss of their liberty, and the destruction of the best and noblest families of the Republic. They had before given the same proof of their discontent *at the Circensian games*; where Cæsar's statue, by a decree of the Senate, was carried in the procession, along with those of the Gods: for they gave none of their usual acclamations to the favorite Deities, as they passed, lest they should be thought to give them to Cæsar. Atticus sent an account of it to Cicero, who says in answer to him, *Your Letter was agreeable, though the shew was so sad — the people however behaved bravely, who would not clap even the Goddesses Victory, for the sake of so bad a neighbour* [b]. Cæsar however to make amends for the unpopularity of his triumph, and to put the people into good humor, entertained the whole City soon after with something more substantial than shews; two.

scripsi, aliter ac si πρὸς ἴσιν ἄμεινον quæ scriberem. Bene enim existimo de illis libris, ut tibi coram. Itaque scripsi & ἀκολακεύτως, & tamen sic, ut nihil eum existimem lecturum libentius. Ib. 51.

[a] Utroque anno binos Consules substituit sibi in ter-

nos novissimos menses. Suet. J. Cæs. 76.

[b] Suaves tuas litteras! etsi acerba pompa—populum vero præclarum, quod propter tam malum vicinum, ne Victoriæ quidem ploditur. Ad Att. 13. 44.

A. Urb. 708. *public dinners, with plenty of the most esteemed and costly wines, of Chios and Falernum [c].*

Cic. 6.
Coff.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
C. TREBO-
NIUS.
SOON after Cæsar's triumph, *the Consul Fabius*, one of his Lieutenants in Spain, was allowed to triumph too, for the reduction of some parts of that province, which had revolted : but the magnificence of Cæsar's made Fabius's triumph appear contemptible ; *for his models of the conquered Towns*, which were always a part of the shew, being made onely of wood, when Cæsar's were of Silver or Ivory, Chrysippus merrily called them, *the cases onely of Cæsar's Towns [d].*

CICERO resided generally in the Country, and withdrew himself wholly from the Senate [e] : but on Cæsar's approach towards Rome, Lepidus began to press him by repeated Letters, to come and give them his assistance ; assuring him, *that both he and Cæsar would take it very kindly of him.* He could not guess, for what particular service they wanted him, except *the dedication of some Temple*, to which the presence of *three Augurs* was necessary [f]. But whatever it was, as his friends had long been urging the same advice, and persuading

[c] Quid non & Cæsar Dictator triumphi sui cœna vini Falerni amphoras, Chii cados in convivia distribuit ? idem in Hispaniensi triumpho Chium & Falernum dedit. Plin. Hist. 14. 15.

Adjecit post Hispaniensem victoriam duo prandia. Sueton. 38.

[d] Ut Chrysippus, cum in triumpho Cæsar's eborea oppida essent translata, & post dies paucos Fabii Maximi lignea, thecas esse oppidorum Cæsar's dixit. Quintil 6.

3. Dio. 234.

[e] Cum his temporibus non sane in senatum ventitarem— Ep. fam. 13. 77.

[f] Ecce tibi, orat Lepidus, ut veniam. Opinor Augures nil habere ad Templum effandum. Ad Att. 13. 42.

Lepidus ad me heri— litteras misit. Rogat magnopere ut sim Kalend. in Senatu, me & sibi & Cæsari vehementer gratum esse facturum— ib. 47.

him

him to return to public affairs, he consented at last, to quit his retirement and come to the City; where soon after Cæsar's arrival he had an opportunity of employing his authority and eloquence, where he exerted them always with the greatest pleasure, in the service and defence of *an old friend, King Deiotarus*.

THIS Prince had already been deprived by Cæsar of part of his dominions, for his adherence to Pompey, and was now in danger of losing the rest, from an accusation preferred against him by his Grandson, of a design pretended to have been formed by *him against Cæsar's life*, when Cæsar was entertained at his house, four years before, on his return from Egypt. The charge was groundless and ridiculous; but under his present disgrace, any charge was sufficient to ruin him; and Cæsar's countenancing it so far, as to receive and hear it, shewed a strong prejudice against the King; and that he wanted onely a pretence for stripping him of all that remained to him. Brutus likewise interested himself very warmly in the same cause; and when he went to meet Cæsar, on his road from Spain, *made an Oration to him at Nicæa, in favor of Deiotarus*, with a freedom, which startled Cæsar, and gave him occasion to reflect on what he had not perceived so clearly before, the *invincible fierceness and vehemence of Brutus's temper* [g]. The present trial was held in Cæsar's house; where Cice-

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Co. I.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
C. TRELO-
NIUS.

[g] Ad Att. 14. 1. The Jesuits, Catrou and Rouille, take Nicæa, where Brutus made this speech, to be *the Capital of Bithynia*, Deiotarus's kingdom: but it was a City on *the Ligurian coast*, still called Nice, where Brutus met Cæsar on his last return from Spain, and when he was not able to prevail for Deiotarus, Cicero was forced to undertake the cause as soon as Cæsar came to Rome. Vid. Hist. Tom. 17. p. 91. not.

A. Urb. 708. ro so manifestly exposed the malice of the accuser, Cic. 62. and the innocence of the accused, that Cæsar, being determined not to acquit, yet ashamed to condemn him, chose the expedient of reserving his sentence to farther deliberation, till he should go in person into the East, and inform himself of the whole affair upon the spot. Cicero says, *that Deiotarus, neither present nor absent, could ever obtain any favor or equity from Cæsar: and that as oft as he pleaded for him, which he was always ready to do, he could never persuade Cæsar, to think any thing reasonable, that he asked for him [h].* He sent a copy of his oration to the King; and, at Dolabella's request, gave another likewise to him: excusing it, as a trifling performance, and hardly worth transcribing; but I had a mind, says he, to make a slight present to my old friend and host, of coarse stuff indeed, yet such as his presents usually are to me [i].

SOME little time after this trial, Cæsar, to shew his confidence in Cicero, invited himself to spend a day with him, at his house in the country; and chose *the third day of the Saturnalia* for his visit; a season always dedicated to mirth and feasting among friends and relations [k]. Cicero gives

[h] Quis enim cuiquam inimicior, quam Deiotaro Cæsar?—a quo nec præsens, nec absens Rex Deiotarus quidquam æqui boni impetravit—ille nunquam, semper enim absenti affui Deiotaro, quicquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, æquam dixit videri. Philip. 2. 37.

[i] Oratiunculum pro Deiotaro, quam requirebas—tibi misi. Quam velim sic

legas, ut causam tenuem & inopem, nec scriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri & amico munusculum mittere volui levius, crasso filo, cujusmodi ipsius solent esse munera. Ep. fam. 9. 12.

[k] This Festival, after Cæsar's reformation of the Kalendar, began on the 17th of December, and lasted three days. Macrobian. Saturn. 1. x.

Atticus the following account of the entertainment, and how the day passed between them :
 “ O this guest, says he, whom I so much dreaded ! yet I had no reason to repent of him : for he was well pleased with his reception. When he came the evening before, on the eighteenth, to my neighbour Philip’s, the house was so crowded with soldiers, that there was scarce a room left empty for Cæsar to sup in : there were about two thousand of them : which gave me no small pain for the next day : but Barba Cassius relieved me ; for he assigned me a guard, and made the rest encamp in the field : so that my house was clear. On the nineteenth, he staid at Philip’s till one in the afternoon ; but saw nobody ; was settling accounts, I guess, with Balbus ; then took a walk on the shore ; bathed after two ; heard the verses on Mamurra [1] ; at which he never changed

A. Urb. 708.
 Cic. 62.
 Coss.
 Q. FABIVS
 MAXIMVS,
 C. TREBO-
 NIUS.

[1] Mamurra was a Roman Knight, and General of the Artillery to Cæsar in Gaul ; where he raised an immense fortune, and is said to have been the first man in Rome, who incrusted his house with marble, and made all his pillars of solid marble. [Plin. Hist. 36. 6.] He was severely lashed, together with Cæsar himself, for his excessive luxury, and more infamous vices, by Catullus ; whose verses are still extant, and the same probably that Cicero here refers to, as being first read to Cæsar at his house. Vid. Catull. 27, 55.

The reader perhaps will not readily understand the time and manner of Cæsar’s passing from Philip’s house to

Cicero’s in this short account of it : but it must be remembered, that their villa’s were adjoining to each other on the Formian coast near Cajeta ; so that when Cæsar came out of Philip’s at one, he took a walk on the shore for about an hour, and then entered into Cicero’s ; where the bath was prepared for him, and in bathing he heard Catullus’s verses ; not produced by Cicero, for that would not have been agreeable to good manners, but by some of his own friends, who attended him, and who knew his desire to see every thing, that was published against him, as well as his easiness in slighting or forgiving it.

“ countenance ;

- A. Urb. 708. " countenance ; was rubbed, anointed, sat down
 Cic. 62. " to table. Having taken a vomit just before,
 Coff. " he eat and drank freely, and was very chear-
 Q. FABIVS " full [m] : the Supper was good and well served :
 MAXIMVS, " But our discourse at table, as we eat,
 C. TREBO- " For tast and seasoning still excell'd our meat [n].
 NIUS.

" Besides Cæsar's table, his friends were plenti-
 " fully provided for in three other rooms ; nor
 " was there any thing wanting to his freedmen
 " of lower rank, and his slaves ; but the better
 " sort were elegantly treated. In a word, I ac-
 " quitted myself like a man : yet he is not a
 " guest to whom one would say at parting,
 " pray call upon me again, as you return : once

[m] The custom of *taking a vomit* both immediately before and after meals, which Cicero mentions Cæsar to have done on different occasions, [pro Deiot. 7.] was very common with the Romans, and used by them as an instrument both of their luxury, and of their health : *they vomit*, says Seneca, *that they may eat. and eat that they may vomit.* [Consol. ad Helo. 9.] By this evacuation before eating, they were prepared to eat more plentifully ; and by emptying themselves presently after it, prevented any hurt from repletion. Thus Vitellius, who was a famous glutton, is said to have preserved his life by constant vomits, while he destroyed all his companions, who did not use the same cautions : [Sue-

ton. 12. Dio. 65. 734.] And the practice was thought so effectual for strengthening the constitution, that it was the constant regimen of all the Athletæ, or the professed Wrestlers, trained for the public shews, in order to make them more robust. So that Cæsar's vomiting before dinner was a sort of compliment to Cicero, as it intimated a resolution to pass the day chearfully, and to eat and drink freely with him.

[n] This is a citation from Lucilius, of an Hexameter verse, with part of a second, which is not distinguished from the text, in the editions of Cicero's Letters.

*sed bene cocto et
 condito sermone bono, & si
 quæris libenter.*

" is

“ is enough : we had not a word on business, A. Urb. 708.
 “ but many on points of literature : in short, he Cic. 62.
 “ was delighted with his entertainment, and passed the day agreeably. He talked of spending one day at Puteoli ; another at Baiæ : thus C. TREBONIUS.
 “ you see the manner of my receiving him ;
 “ somewhat troublesome indeed, but not uneasy
 “ to me. I should stay here a little longer, and
 “ then to Tusculum. As he passed by Dolabella’s villa, his troops marched close by his horse’s side, on the right and left ; which was
 “ done no where else. I had this from Nicias [o].”

ON the last of December, when *the Consul Trebonius* was abroad, his Colleague Q. Fabius died suddenly ; and his death being declared in the morning, C. Caninius Rebilus was named by Cæsar to the vacancy at one in the afternoon ; whose office was to continue onely *through the remaining part of that day*. This wanton profanation of the sovereign dignity of the Empire raised a general indignation in the City ; and a Consulship so ridiculous gave birth to much raillery, and many jokes which are transmitted to us by the ancients [p] ; of which Cicero, who was the chief author of them, gives us the following specimen, in his own account of the fact.

Cicero to Curius.

“ I no longer either advise or desire you to
 “ come home to us, but want to fly some whither myself, where I may hear neither the
 “ names nor the acts of these sons of Pelops. It
 “ is incredible, how meanly I think of myself,

[o] Ad Att. 13. 52.

[p] Macrob. Saturn, 2. 3. Dio. p. 236.

A. Urb. 708. “ for being present at these transactions. You
 Cic. 62. “ had surely an early foresight of what was com-
 Coss. “ ing on, when you ran away from this place :
 Q. FABIVS “ for though it be vexatious to hear of such
 MAXIMVS, “ things, yet that is more tolerable than to see
 C. TREBO- “ them. It is well, that you were not in the
 NIUS. “ field, when at seven in the morning, as they
 “ were proceeding to an election of Quæstors,
 “ the Chair of Q. Maximus, whom they called
 “ Consul [q], was set in it's place : but, his
 “ death being immediately proclaimed, it was re-
 “ moved ; and Cæsar, though he had taken the
 “ auspices for an assembly of the Tribes,
 “ changed it to an assembly of the Centuries ;
 “ and, at one in the afternoon, declared a new
 “ Consul, who was to govern till one the next
 “ morning. I would have you to know there-
 “ fore, that whilst Caninius was Consul, *nobody*
 “ *dined* ; and that there was *no crime committed in*
 “ *his Consulship*, for he was so wonderfully *vigi-*
 “ *lant*, that through his whole administration *he*
 “ *never so much as slept*. These things seem ri-
 “ diculous to you, who were absent, but were
 “ you to see them, you would hardly refrain
 “ from tears. What if I should tell you the
 “ rest ? For there are numberless facts of the
 “ same kind ; which I could never have born,
 “ if I had not taken refuge in the port of Philo-

[q] Cicero would not allow a Consul of three months so irregularly chosen, to be properly called a Consul : nor did the people themselves acknowledge him : for, as Suetonius tells us, [in J. Cæs. 80.] when upon Fabius's en-

trance into the Theater, his Officers, according to custom, proclaimed his presence, and ordered the people to make way for the Consul ; the whole assembly cried out, *he is no Consul*.

“sophy, with our friend Atticus, the companion
“and partner of my studies, &c. [r]”

CÆSAR had so many creatures and dependents, who expected *the honor of the Consulship* from him, as the reward of their services, that it was impossible to oblige them all in the regular way, so that he was forced to contrive the expedient of splitting it, as it were, into parcels, and conferring it for *a few months, or weeks, or even days*, as it happened to suit his convenience: and as the thing itself was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; since the shortest gave the same privilege with the longest, and a man once declared Consul, enjoyed ever after the rank and character of a consular Senator [s].

ON the opening of the new year Cæsar entered into his *fifth Consulship*, in partnership with M. Antony: he had promised it all along to Dolabella, but, contrary to expectation, took it at last to himself. This was contrived by Antony, who, jealous of Dolabella, as a rival in Cæsar's favor, had been suggesting somewhat to his disadvantage, and laboring to create a diffidence of him in Cæsar; which seems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above, *Cæsar's guarding himself so particularly, when he passed by his Villa*. Dolabella was sensibly touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the Senate; where, not daring to vent his spleen on Cæsar, he entertained the assembly with a severe speech against Antony, which drew on many warm and angry words between them; till Cæsar, to end the dispute, promised to resign the Con-

A. Urb. 709,
Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

[r] Ep. fam. 7. 30.

[s] Vid. Dio. p. 240.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR V.

M. ANTONIUS.

fulship to Dolabella, before he went to the *Parthian war*: but *Antony protested, that by his authority as Augur, he would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted [t]*; and declared, without any scruple, that the ground of his quarrel with Dolabella was, *for having caught him in an attempt to debauch his wife Antonia, the daughter of his Uncle*; though that was thought to be a calumny, contrived to color his divorce with her, and his late marriage with Fulvia, the widow of Clodius [u].

CÆSAR was now in the height of all his glory, and *dressed, as Florus says, in all his trappings, like a victim destined to sacrifice [x]*. He had received from the Senate the most extravagant honors, both human and divine, which flattery could invent; *a Temple, Altar, Priest; his Image carried in procession with the Gods; his Statue among the Kings; one of the months called after his name, and a perpetual Dictatorship [y]*. Cicero endeavoured to restrain the excess of this complaisance, within *the bounds of reason [z]*; but in vain; since Cæsar was more forward to receive, than they to give; and out of the gaiety of his pride, and to try, as it were, to what length their adulation would reach; when he was actu-

[t] Cum Cæsar ostendisset, se priusquam proficeretur, Dolabellam Consullem esse iussurum—hic bonus Augur eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitium posset, idque se facturum asseveravit. Phil. 2. 32.

[u] Frequentissimo senatu—hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere au-

fusus es, quod ab eo sorori & uxori tuæ stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Phil. 2. 38.

[x] Quæ omnia, velut infulæ, in destinatam morti victimam congerebantur. 1. 4. 2. 92.

[y] Flor. ibid. Sueton. J. Cæs. 76.

[z] Plutarch. in Cæs.

ally possessed of every thing, which carried with it any real power, was not content still without a title, which could add nothing but envy, and popular odium; and wanted *to be called a King*. Plutarch thinks it a strange instance of folly in the people to endure with patience all the real effects of *Kingly government*, yet declare such an abhorrence to the name. But the folly was not so strange in the people, as it was in Cæsar: it is natural to the multitude to be governed by names rather than things; and the constant art of parties to keep up that prejudice; but it was unpardonable in so great a man, as Cæsar, to lay so much stress on a title, which, so far from being an honor to him, seemed to be a diminution rather of that superior dignity, which he already enjoyed.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

AMONG the other compliments, that were paid to him, there was *a new fraternity of Luperi* instituted to his honor, and called by his name; of which Antony was the head. Young Quintus Cicero was one of this society, with the consent of his Father, though to the dissatisfaction of his Uncle; who considered it, not onely as a low piece of flattery, but an indecency for a young man of family, to be engaged in ceremonies so immodest of running *naked and frantic about the Streets* [a]. The Festival was held about the *middle of February*; and Cæsar, in his *triumphal robe*, seated himself in the *Rostrum*, in a *golden Chair*, to see the diversion of the running; where, in the midst of their sport, the Consul Antony, at the head of his naked crew, made him

[a] Quintus Pater quartum vel potius millesimum nat duplici dedecore cumulatam domum. Ad Att. 15. 5.
nihil sapit, qui lætetur Luperco filio & Statio, ut cer-

A. Urb. 709. *the offer of a Regal Diadem, and attempted to put it upon his head; at the sight of which a general groan issued from the whole Forum; till upon Cæsar's slight refusal of it, the people loudly testified their joy, by an universal shout. Antony however ordered it to be entered in the public acts, that by the command of the people, he had offered the Kingly name and power to Cæsar, and that Cæsar would not accept it [b].*

Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

WHILE this affair of the *Kingly Title* amused and alarmed the city, two of the Tribuns, Marullus and Cæsetius, were particularly active in discouraging every step and attempt towards it: they took off the *Diadem*, which certain persons had privately put upon Cæsar's *Statue in the Rostra*, and committed those to prison, who were suspected to have done it; and publicly punished others for daring to salute him in the streets by the name of King; declaring, that Cæsar himself refused and abhorred that title. This provoked Cæsar beyond his usual temper, and command of himself; so that he accused them to the senate, of a design to raise a sedition against him, by persuading the City, that he really affected to be a King; but when the assembly was going to pass the severest sentence upon them, he was content with deposing them from their Magistracy, and expelling

[b] Sedebat in Rostris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus: adscendis, accedis ad sellam — diadema ostendis: gemitus toto foro — tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi, ille cum plausu rejiciebat — at enim adscribi jus-

fit in Fastis ad Lupercalia, C. Cæsari, Dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium Consullem populi jussu regnum detulisse, Cæsarem uti noluisse. [Phil. 2. 34.] Quod ab eo ita repulsum erat, ut non offensus videretur. Vell. P. 2. 56.

them

them from the Senate [c]: which convinced people still the more, of his real fondness for a name, that he pretended to despise.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

HE had now prepared all things for his expedition against the Parthians; had sent his legions before him into Macedonia; settled the succession of all the Magistrates for two years to come [d]; appointed Dolabella to take his own place, as Consul of the current year; named A. Hirtius and C. Panfa, for consuls of the next; and D. Brutus, and Cn. Plancus, for the following year: but before his departure, he resolved to have the *Regal Title* conferred upon him by the Senate, who were too sensible of his power, and obsequious to his will, to deny him any thing: and to make it the more palatable at the same time to the people, he caused a report to be industriously propagated through the city, of ancient prophecies found in the Sibylline books, that the Parthians could not be conquered, but by a King, on the strength of which, Cotta, one of the Guardians of those books, was to move the Senate, at their next meeting, to decree the title of king to him [e]. Cicero speaking afterwards of this design, says, it was expected that some forged testimonies would be produced, to shew, that he, whom we had felt in reality to be a King, should be called also by that name, if we would be safe: but let us make a bargain with the keepers of those Oracles, that they bring any thing out of them, rather than a King;

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

[c] Sueton. J. Cæs. 79. Dio. p. 245. App. l. 2. p. 496. Vell. P. 2. 68.

[d] Etiamne Consules & Tribunos plebis in biennium, quos ille voluit? Ad Att. 14. 6.

[e] Proximo autem Senatu,

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L. Cottam Quindecim virum sententiam daturum; ut quoniam libris fatalibus contineretur, Parthos non nisi a Rege posse vinci, Cæsar Rex appellaretur. Sueton. c. 79. Dio. p. 247.

E e

which

A. Urb. 709. *which neither the Gods nor men will ever endure*
 Cic. 63. *again at Rome [f].*
 Coff.

C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR V.
 M. ANTONIUS.

ONE would naturally have expected, after all the fatigues and dangers through which Cæsar had made his way to Empire, that he would have chosen to spend the remainder of a declining life in the quiet enjoyment of all the honors and pleasures, which absolute power, and a command of the world could bestow: but in the midst of all this glory, he was a stranger still to ease: he saw the people generally disaffected to him, and impatient under his government; and though amused a while with the splendor of his shews and triumphs, yet regretting severely in cool blood the price, that they had paid for them; the loss of their liberty, with the lives of the best and noblest of their fellow Citizens. This expedition therefore against the Parthians seems to have been a political pretext for removing himself from the Murmurs of the City; and leaving to his Ministers the exercise of an invidious power, and the task of taming the spirits of the populace; whilst he, by employing himself in gathering fresh laurels in the East, and extending the bounds, and retrieving the honor of the Empire, against its most dreaded enemy, might gradually reconcile them to a reign, that was gentle and clement at home, successful and glorious abroad.

BUT his impatience to be a *King* defeated all

[f] Quorum Interpres nuper falsa quædam hominum fama dicturus in Senatu putabatur, eum, quem re vera regem habebamus, appellandum quoque esse Regem, si salvi esse vellemus—cum An-

tistibus agamus, ut quidvis potius ex illis libris, quam regem proferant, quem Romæ posthac nec Dii nec homines esse patientur. De Divin. 2. 54.

his projects, and accelerated his fate; and pushed on the nobles, who had conspired against his life, to the immediate execution of their plot; that they might save themselves the shame of being forced to concur in an act, which they heartily detested [g]: and the *Two* Brutus's in particular, the honor of whose house was founded in the extirpation of *Kingly Government*, could not but consider it as a personal infamy, and a disgrace to their very name, to suffer the restoration of it.

THERE were *above sixty persons* said to be engaged in *this conspiracy* [h]; the greatest part of them of the Senatorian rank; but M. Brutus, and C. Cassius were the chief in credit and authority; the first contrivers and movers of the whole design.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS was about one and forty years old; of the most illustrious family of the Republic; deriving his name and descent in a direct line from that first Consul, L. Brutus, who expelled Tarquin, and gave freedom to the Roman people [i]. Having lost his Father when very

[g] Quæ causa conjuratis fuit maturandi destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset. Suet. J. Cæs. 80. Dio p. 247.

[h] Conspiratum est in eum a Sexaginta amplius, C. Cassio, Marcoque & Decimo Bruto principibus conspirationis. Suet. 18.

[i] Some of the ancient writers call in question this account of Brutus's descent; particularly Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the most judicious and critical of them, who alledges several arguments a-

gainst it, which seem to be very plausible. Yet while Brutus lived, it was universally allowed to him. Cicero mentions it in his public speeches, and other writings, as a fact, that nobody doubted; and often speaks of the *Image of old Brutus*, which Marcus kept in his house among those of his Ancestors: and Atticus, who was peculiarly curious in the antiquities of the Roman families, drew up *Brutus's genealogy* for him; and deduced his succession from that old

A. Urb. 73.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

A. Urb. 709. very young, he was trained with great care by
 Cic. 63. his uncle Cato, in all the studies of polite letters,
 Coss. especially of eloquence and Philosophy, and under
 C. JULIUS the discipline of such a Tutor, imbibed a
 CÆSAR V. warm love for liberty and virtue. He had ex-
 M. ANTONIUS. cellent parts, and equal industry, and acquired
 an early fame at the bar; where he pleaded several
 causes of great importance, and was esteemed the
 most eloquent and learned of all the young nobles of
 his age. His manner of speaking was correct, elegant,
 judicious, yet wanting that force and copiousness,
 which is required in a consummate Orator. But
 Philosophy was his favorite study; in which, though
 he professed himself of the more moderate sect of
the old Academy, yet from a certain pride and gravity
 of temper, he affected the severity of *the Stoic*; and
 to imitate his uncle Cato; to which he was wholly
 unequal; for he was of a mild, mercifull, and
 compassionate disposition; averse to every thing
 cruel; and was often forced by the tenderness of
 his nature to confute the rigor of his principles.
 While his mother lived in the greatest familiarity
 with Cæsar, he was constantly attached to the

Hero, in a direct line through all the intermediate ages from father to son. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 18. Tuscul. Disp. 4. 1.

He was born in the Consulship of L. Cornelius Cinna III. and Cn. Papirius Carbo, A. U. 668. which fully confutes the vulgar story of his being commonly believed to be *Cæsar's son*, since he was but fifteen years younger than Cæsar himself: whose familiarity with his mother Ser-

vilia, cannot be supposed to have commenced, till many years after Brutus was born; or not till Cæsar had lost his first wife Cornelia, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whose funeral oration he made when he was *Quæstor*, and consequently *thirty years old*. Vid. Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 1, 6, 50. it. Brut. p. 343. 447. & Corradi natos.

opposite

opposite party, and firm to the interests of liberty: for the sake of which he followed Pompey, whom he hated, and acted on that side, with a distinguished zeal. At the battel of Pharsalia, Cæsar gave particular orders to find out and preserve Brutus: being desirous to draw him from the pursuit of a cause, that was likely to prove fatal to him: so that when Cato, with the rest of the Chiefs, went to renew the war in Afric, he was induced by Cæsar's generosity and his mother's prayers, to lay down his arms, and return to Italy. Cæsar endeavoured to oblige him by all the honours, which his power could bestow: but the indignity of receiving from a Master, what he ought to have received from a free people, shocked him much more than any honors could oblige; and the ruin, in which he saw his friends involved by Cæsar's usurped dominion, gave him a disgust, which no favors could compensate. He observed therefore a distance and reserve through Cæsar's reign; aspired to no share of his confidence, or part in his counsils, and by the uncourtly vehemence, with which he defended the rights of *King* Deiotarus, convinced Cæsar, that he could never be obliged, where he did not find himself free. He cultivated all the while the strictest friendship with Cicero, whose principles, he knew, were utterly averse to the measures of the times; and in whose free conversation, he used to mingle his own complaints on the unhappy state of the Republic, and the wretched hands, into which it was fallen; till animated by these conferences, and confirmed by the general discontent of all the honest, he formed the bold design of freeing his Country by the destruction of Cæsar. He had publicly defended Milo's act of *killling Clodius*, by a maxim,

A. Urb 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

A. Urb. 709. which he maintained to be universally true, *that those, who live in defiance of the laws, and cannot be brought to a trial, ought to be taken off without a trial.* The case was applicable to Cæsar in a much higher degree than to Clodius; whose power had placed him above the reach of the law, and left no way of punishing him, but by an *assassination*. This therefore was Brutus's motive; and Antony did him the justice to say, *that he was the only one of the conspiracy, who entered into it out of principle; that the rest, from private malice, rose up against the man, he alone against the Tyrant [k].*

Cic. 63.
Coff.
C JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

C. CASSIUS was descended likewise from a family, not less honorable or ancient, nor less zealous for the public liberty, than Brutus's: whose Ancestor, Sp. Cassius, after a triumph of three consulships, is said to have been condemned, and put to death, by his own Father, for aiming at a dominion. He shewed a remarkable instance, when a boy, of his high spirit and love of liberty; for *he gave Sylla's Son, Faustus, a box on the ear, for bragging among his school-*

[k] Natura admirabilis, & exquisita doctrina, & singularis industria. Cum enim in maximis causis versatus esses — [Brut. 26.] quo magis tum, Brute, judicium probo, qui eorum, id est, *ex vetere academia*, philosophorum sectam secutus es, quorum in doctrina & præceptis differendi ratio conjungitur cum suavitate dicendi & copia. [Brut. 219.] Nam cum inambularem in Xysto—M. ad me Brutus, ut consueverat, cum T. Pomponio venerat—

[Brut. 15.] tum Brutus—itaque doleo & illius consilio & tua voce populum Rom. carere tamdiu. Quod cum per se dolendum est, tum multo magis consideranti, ad quos ista non translata sint, sed necio quo pacto devenierint. [Brut. 269.]

Ἄλλ' Ἀντωνίῳ γε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκῆσαι λέγοντι, ὡς μόνον οἷσι τοῦ Βρυττον ἐπιθέσθαι Καίσαρι, προαχθέντ' αὐτῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ καινομένῳ καλῶ τῆς πράξεως—vid. Plut. in Brut. p. 997. it. App. p. 498.

fellows, of his Father's greatness and absolute power; and when Pompey called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared in his presence, *that if Faustus should dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow*. He was Quæstor to Crassus, in the Parthian war, where he greatly signalized both his courage and skill; and if Crassus had followed his advice, would have preserved the whole army; but after their miserable defeat, he made good his retreat into Syria with the remains of the broken legions: and when the Parthians, flushed with success, pursued him thither soon after, and blocked him up in Antioch, he preserved that City and Province from falling into their hands; and, watching his opportunity, gained a considerable victory over them, with the destruction of their General. In the civil war, after the battel of Pharsalia, he sailed with *seventy Ships* to the coast of Asia to raise fresh forces in that country, and renew the war against Cæsar; but, as the Historians tell us, happening to meet with Cæsar crossing *the Hellespont* in a common passage-boat, instead of destroying him, as he might have done, he was so terrified by the sight of the Conqueror, that he begged his life in an abject manner, and delivered up his fleet to him. But Cicero gives us a hint of a quite different story, which is much more probable, and worthy of Cassius; that having got intelligence where Cæsar designed to land, he lay in wait for him, in *a Bay of Cilicia*, at the mouth of the river Cydnus, with a resolution to destroy him; *but Cæsar happening to land on the opposite shoar before he was aware*, so that seeing his project blasted, and Cæsar secured in a country where all people were declaring for him, he thought it

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
N. ANT-
NIUS.

best to make his own peace too, by going over to him with his fleet. He married Tertia, the Sister of Brutus; and though differing in temper and philosophy, was strictly united with him in friendship and politics; and the constant partner of all his counsils. He was brave, witty, learned; yet passionate, fierce, and cruel; so that *Brutus was the more amiable friend, he the more dangerous enemy*: in his later years he deserted the Stoics, and became a convert to Epicurus; whose doctrine he thought more natural and reasonable: constantly maintaining, *that the pleasure, which their master recommended, was to be found only in the habitual practice of justice and virtue*; while he professed himself therefore an Epicurean, he lived like a Stoic; was moderate in pleasures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He attached himself very early to the observance of Cicero; as all the young Nobles did, who had any thing great or laudable in view: this friendship was confirmed by a conformity of their sentiments in the civil war, and in Cæsar's reign; during which, several Letters passed between them, written with a freedom and familiarity, which is to be found only in the most intimate correspondence. In these letters, though Cicero rallies his Epicurism, and change of principles, yet he allows him to have acted always with the greatest honor and integrity; and pleasantly says, *that he should begin to think that sect to have more nerves, than he imagined, since Cassius had embraced it*. The old writers assign several frivolous reasons of disgust, as the motives of his killing Cæsar: *that Cæsar took a number of Lions from him, which he had provided for a public show; that he would not give him the Consulship; that he gave Brutus the more honorable Prætorship*

torship in preference to him. But we need not look farther for the true motive, than to his temper and principles: for his nature was singularly impetuous and violent; impatient of contradiction, and much more of subjection; and passionately fond of glory, virtue, liberty: it was from these qualities, that Cæsar apprehended his danger: and when admonished to beware of Antony and Dolabella, used to say, *that it was not the gay, the curled, and the jovial, whom he had cause to fear, but the thoughtful, the pale, and the lean; meaning Brutus and Cassius* [1].

THE

[1] C. Cassius in ea familia natus, quæ non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidam cujusquam ferre potuit. [Phil. 2. 11.] Quem ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem actorem ejus supplicii ferant. Eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse. [Liv. 2. 41.] Cujus filium, Faustum, C. Cassius condiscipulum suum in schola, proscriptionem paternam laudantem — colapho percussit. [Val. Max. 3. 1. vid. Plutar. in Brut.] Reliquias legionum C. Cassius — Quæstor conservavit, Syriamque adeo in populi Romani potestate retinuit, ut transgressos in eum Parthos, felici rerum eventu fugaret ac funderet. [Vell. Pat. 2. 46. it. Phil. xi. 14.] οὐδὲ ἔργον ἔτερον ἡγήμαι τυχῆς ἐν ἀπρώ καιρῷ γενέσθαι μάλλον, ἢ χάσσειν τὸν πολεμικώτατον ἐπὶ τριπρῶν ἐξομῆ-

κον]α ἀπαρασκευῶ Χαίσαρος συν]υκόν]α, μηδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὑποσῆναι, ὃ δ' οὕτως αὐτον αἰσχυρῶς ὑπὸ φόβου μόνου παραπλεόν]ι παραδύς, ὕστερον ἐν Ρώμῃ δυναστεύοι]α ἡδὴ κατέκλειανεν. [App. 2. 483. it. Dio. 1. 42. 188. Sueton. J. Cæf. 63.] C. Cassius — sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam naves appulisset. [Phil. 2. 11.] e quibus Brutum amicum habere mallet, inimicum magis timeres Cassium. [Vell. P. 2. 72.] ἡδονὴν vero, & ἀταραξίαν virtute, justitia, τῷ καλῷ parari, & verum & probabile est. Ipse enim Epicurus — dicit. οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡδέως ἀνεν τῷ καλῷ καὶ δίκαιῳ, ζῆν. [Ep. fam. 15. 19.] Cassius tota vita aquam bibit. [Senec. 547.] Quamquam quicum loquor? cum uno fortissimo viro; qui postea quam forum attigisti, nihil

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THE next in authority to Brutus and Cassius though very different from them in character, were Decimus Brutus, and C. Trebonius: they had both been constantly devoted to Cæsar; and were singularly favored, advanced, and entrusted by him in all his wars; so that when Cæsar marched first into Spain, he left them to command *the siege of Marseilles, Brutus by sea, Trebonius by land*; in which they acquitted themselves with the greatest courage and ability, and reduced that strong place to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. Decimus was of the same family with his namesake, Marcus; and Cæsar, as if jealous of a name, that inspired an aversion to Kings, was particularly solicitous to gain them both to his interest; and seemed to have succeeded to his wish in Decimus; who forwardly embraced his friendship, and accepted all his favors; being named by him *to the command of Cisalpine Gaul, and to the Consulship of the following year, and the second heir even of his estate, in failure of the first*. He seems to have had no peculiar character of virtue, or patriotism, nor any correspondence with Cicero, before the act of killing Cæsar; so that people, instead of expecting it from him, were surprized at his doing it; yet he was brave, generous, magnificent, and lived with great splendor, in the enjoyment of an immense fortune; for he kept *a numerous band of Gladiators*, at his own expence, for the diversion of the City; and after Cæsar's death, spent *about four hundred thousand pounds of his own*

nihil fecisti nisi plenissimum amplissimæ dignitatis. In ista ipsa αἰρέσει metuo ne plus nervorum sit, quam ego putarim, si modo eam tu probas.

[Ep. fam. 15. 16.] Differendo consulatum Cassium offenderat. [Vell. P. 2. 56. it. Plut. in Brut. App. 408.]

money,

money, in maintaining an army against Antony [m].

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TREBONIUS had no family to boast of, but was wholly a new man, and the creature of Cæsar's power, who produced him through all the honors of the State, to his late consulship of three months: Antony calls him *Son of a Buffoon*; but Cicero, *of a splendid Knight*: he was a man of parts, prudence, integrity, humanity: was conversant also in the politer arts, and had a peculiar turn to wit and humor: for, after Cæsar's death, he published a *volume of Cicero's sayings*, which he had taken pains to collect; upon which Cicero compliments him, for having explained them with great elegance, and given them a fresh force and beauty, by his humorous manner of introducing them. As the Historians have not suggested any reason that should move either him or Decimus to the resolution of killing a man, to whom they were infinitely obliged: so we may reasonably impute it, as Cicero does, to a greatness of soul, and superior love of their country, which made them *prefer the liberty of Rome to the friendship of any man; and chuse rather to be the destroyers, than the partners of a Tyranny* [n].

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THE

[m] Adjectis etiam consiliariis cædis, familiarissimis omnium, & fortuna partium ejus in summum evectis fastigium, D. Bruto & C. Trebonio, aliisque clari nominis viris. [Vell. P. 2. 56.] Pluresque percursorum in tutoribus filii nominavit: Decimum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. [Sueton. Cæs. 83.]

Vid. Cæs. Comm. de Bell. civil. l. 2. Plut. in Brut. App. p. 497, 518. Dio. l. 44. 247. &c. D. Brutus—cum Cæsaris primus omnium amicorum fuisset, interfectus fuit. Vell. P. 2. 64.

[n] Scuræ filium appellat Antonius. Quasi vero ignotus nobis fuerit splendidus Eques Romanus Trebonii pater

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THE rest of the conspirators were partly *young men*, of noble blood, eager to revenge the ruin of their fortunes and families; *partly men obscure, and unknown to the public* [o]; yet whose fidelity and courage had been approved by Brutus and Cassius. It was agreed by them all in council to execute their design in the Senate, which was summoned to meet *on the Ides*, or fifteenth of March: they knew that the Senate would applaud it when done, and even assist, if there was occasion, in the doing it [p]; and there was a circumstance, which peculiarly encouraged them, and seemed to be even ominous; that it happened to be *Pompey's Senate House*, in which their attempt was to be made; and where Cæsar would consequently fall *at the foot of Pompey's Statue*, as a just sacrifice to the *manes* of that great man [q]. They took it also for granted, that the City would be generally on their side, yet for their greater security, *D. Brutus gave orders, to arm his Gladiators that morning, as if for some public shew*, that they might be ready, on the first no-

ter. [Phil. 13. 10.] Trebonii — consilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat? [Phil. xi. 4.] liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa, sive faceta sunt, sive sic fiunt narrante te venustissima. Quin etiam antequam ad me veniatur, risus omnis pæne consumitur, &c. Ep. fam. 15. 21. it. 12.

16.] Qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae præposuit, depulsoque dominatus, quam particeps esse maluit. Phil. 2. 11.

[o] In tot hominibus, partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, &c. Phil. 2. 11.

[p] ὡς τῶν βυζυλῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμαθήσιν, προθύμας, ὅτι ἴδωσιν τὸν ἔργον, συνεπισησμένον. App. 499.

[q] Postquam Senatus idibus Martiis in Pompeii curiam editus est, facile tempus & locum prætulerunt. [Sueton. 80.]

tice,

tice to secure the avenues of the Senate, and de- A. Urb. 709.
 fend them from any sudden violence; and Pom- Cic. 63.
 pey's Theater, which adjoined to his Senate-house, C. JULIUS
 being the properest place for the exercise of the CÆSAR V.
 Gladiators, would cover all suspicion, that might M. ANTO-
 otherwise arise from them. The onely delibera- NIUS.
 tion that perplexed them, and on which they
 were much divided, was whether they should not
 kill Antony also, and Lepidus, together with Cæsar;
 especially Antony; the more ambitious of the
 two, and the more likely to create fresh dan-
 ger to the Commonwealth. Cassius, with a ma-
 jority of the company, was warmly for killing
 him: but the two Brutus's as warmly opposed,
 and finally over-ruled it: they alledged, "that
 "to shed more blood, than was necessary, would
 "disgrace their cause, and draw upon them an
 "imputation of cruelty; and of acting not as
 "Patriots, but as the Partisans of Pompey; not
 "so much to free the City, as to revenge them-
 "selves on their enemies, and get the dominion
 "of it into their hands." But what weighed with
 them the most, was a vain persuasion, that Anto-
 ny would be tractable, and easily reconciled, as
 soon as the affair was over: but this lenity proved
 their ruin: and by leaving their work imperfect,
 defeated all the benefit of it; as we find Cicero af-
 terwards often reproaching them in his Letters [r].

MANY prodigies are mentioned by the Histo-
 rians to have given warning of Cæsar's death [s]:
 which having been ~~been~~ forged by some, and

[r] Plutar. in Cæs. App. fam. x. 28. 12. 4. ad Brut.
 2. 499. 502. Dio. 247, 248. 2. 7.
 Quam vellem ad illas pul- [s] Sed Cæsari futura cæ-
 cherrimas epulas me Idibus des evidentibus prodigiis de-
 Martiis invitasset. Reliqui- nunciata est, &c. Sueton. 81.
 arum nihil haberemus. Ep. Plut. in vit.

credulously

A. Urb. 706. credulously received by others, were copied, as
 Cic. 63. usual, by all, to strike the imagination of their
 Coff. readers, and raise an awful attention to an event,
 C. JULIUS in which the Gods were supposed to be interested.
 CÆSAR V. Cicero has related one of the most remarkable of
 M. ANTONIUS. them; "that as Cæsar was sacrificing a little be-
 fore his death, with great pomp and splendor,
 "in *his triumphal robes and golden chair*, the vic-
 "tim, which was a fat Ox, was found to be
 "without a heart: and when Cæsar seemed to be
 "shocked at it, Spurinna, the Haruspex, admo-
 "nished him to beware, lest through a failure
 "in *counsel*, his *life* should be cut off, since the
 "heart was the seat and source of them both.
 "The next day he sacrificed again, in hopes to
 "find the entrails more propitious; but the liver
 "of the bullock appeared to *want its head*,
 "which was reckoned also among the direfull
 "omens [*t*]." These facts, though ridiculed

[*t*] De Divin. 1. 52. 2.
 16. These cases of victims found sometimes *without a heart or liver*, gave rise to a curious question among those who believed the reality of this kind of *divination*, as the *Stoics* generally did, how to account for the cause of so strange a phenomenon. The common solution was, that the Gods made such changes instantaneously, in the moment of sacrificing, by annihilating or altering the condition of the entrails so, as to make them correspond with the circumstances of the Sacrificer, and the admonition which they intended to give. [De Div. *ibid.*] But his was laughed at by the

Naturalists, as wholly unphilosophical, who thought it absurd to imagine, that the Deity could either annihilate, or create; either reduce any thing to nothing, or form any thing out of nothing. What seems the most probable, is, that if the facts really happened, they were contrived by Cæsar's friends, and the heart conveyed away by some artifice, to give them a better pretence of enforcing their admonitions, and putting Cæsar upon his guard against dangers, which they really apprehended, from quite different reasons, than the pretended denunciations of the Gods.

by Cicero, were publicly affirmed and believed at the time; and seem to have raised a general rumor through the City, of some secret danger that threatened Cæsar's life; so that his friends being alarmed at it, were endeavouring to instil the same apprehension into Cæsar himself: and had succeeded so far, as to shake his resolution of going that day to the Senate, when it was actually assembled by his summons in Pompey's Senate-house; till D. Brutus, by rallying those fears, as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alledging, that his absence would be interpreted as an affront to the assembly, drew him out against his will to meet his destined fate [u].

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IN the morning of the fatal day, M. Brutus and C. Cassius appeared, according to custom, in the Forum sitting in their *Prætorian Tribunals*, to hear and determine causes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they sat with the same calmness as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of Cæsar's coming out to the Senate, called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act; which they executed at last with such resolution, that through the eagerness of stabbing Cæsar, they wounded even one another [x].

THUS fell Cæsar on the celebrated *Ides of March*; after he had advanced himself to a height of power, which no Conquerer had ever attained before him; though to raise the mighty Fabric, he had made more desolation in the world than any man perhaps, who ever lived in it. He used to say, *that his conquests in Gaul had cost a-*

[u] Plutar. in J. Cæs.

[x] Ib. in Brut. App. 2. 505.

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bout a million, and two hundred thousand lives [y], and if we add the civil wars to the account, they could not cost the Republic much less, in the more valuable blood of it's best Citizens: yet when through a perpetual course of faction, violence, rapine, slaughter, he had made his way at last to Empire, he did not enjoy the quiet possession of it above five months [z].

HE was endowed with every great and noble quality, that could exalt human nature, and give a man the ascendant in society; formed to excell in peace, as well as war: provident in counsil; fearless in action; and executing what he had resolved with an amazing celerity: generous beyond measure to his friends; placable to his enemies; and for parts, learning, eloquence, scarce inferior to any man. His orations were admired for two qualities which are seldom found together, *strength and elegance*: Cicero ranks him among the greatest orators, that Rome ever bred: and Quintillian says, *that he spoke with the same force with which he fought; and if he had devoted himself to the bar, would have been the onely man capable of rivalling Cicero*. Nor was he a master onely of the politer arts; but conversant also with the most abstruse and critical part of learning; and among other works which he published, addressed *two books to Cicero, on the Analogy of language*, or the art of speaking and writing correctly [a]. He was a most liberal Patron of wit

[y] Undecies centena & nonaginta duo hominum milia occisa præliis ab eo—quod ita esse confessus est ipse, bellorum civilium stragem non prodendo. Plin. Hist. 7. 25.

[z] Neque illi tanto viro—plusquam quinque mensium principalis quies contigit—Vell. Pat. 2. 56.

[a] It was in the dedication of this piece to Cicero, that

wit and learning, wheresoever they were found ; and out of his love of those talents, would readily pardon those, who had employed them against himself : rightly judging, *that by making such men his friends, he should draw praises from the same fountain, from which he had been aspersed.* A. Urb. 709.
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His capital passions were *ambition and love of pleasure* ; which he indulged in their turns to the greatest excess : yet the first was always predominant ; to which he could easily sacrifice all the charms of the second, and draw pleasure even from toils and dangers, when they ministered to his glory. For *he thought Tyranny, as Cicero says, the greatest of Goddesses* ; and had frequently in his mouth a verse of Euripides, which expressed the image of his soul, *that if right and justice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the sake of reigning.* This was the chief end and purpose of his life : the scheme that he had formed from his early youth ; so that, as Cato truly declared of him, *he came with sobriety and meditation to the subversion of the Republic.* He used to say, *that there were two things necessary, to acquire and to support power ; soldiers and money ;* which yet depended mutually on each other : with money therefore he provided soldiers ; and with soldiers extorted money : and was of all men the most rapacious in plundering, both friends and foes ; sparing neither *Prince nor State, nor Temple, nor even private persons*, who were known to possess any share of treasure. His great abilities would necessarily have made him one of the first Citizens of Rome ; but disdaining

that Cæsar paid him the compliment, which Pliny mentions, of his having acquired a laurel, superior to that of all triumphs, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the Roman ævit, than of their Empire. Hist N. 7. 30.

A. Urb. 709. the condition of a subject, he could never rest, till he had made himself a *Monarch*. In acting this last part, his usual prudence seemed to fail him; as if the height, to which he was mounted, had turned his head, and made him giddy: for, by a vain ostentation of his power, he destroyed the stability of it; and as men shorten life, by living too fast, so by an intemperance of reigning, he brought his reign to a violent end [b].

It was a common question after his death, and proposed as a problem by Livy, *whether it was of service to the Republic, that he had ever*

[b] De Cæsare & ipse ita judico — illum omnium fere Oratorum latinè loqui elegantissime — & id — multis literis, & iis quidem reconditis & exquisitis, summoque studio ac diligentia est consecutus — [Brut. 370.] C. vero Cæsar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur, tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat. [Quintil. x. 1.] C. Cæsar, in libris, quos ad M. Ciceronem de Analogia conscripsit — [A. Gell. 19. 8.] Quin etiam in maximis occupationibus cum ad teipsam, inquit, de ratione latine loquendi accuratissime scripserit — [Brut. 370. vid. it. Sueton. 56.] in Cæsare hæc sunt, mitis, clemensque natura — accedit, quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale tuum est, delectatur — eodem fonte se hausurum in-

telligit laudes suas, e quo sit leviter aspersus. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.] τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥς' εἶχειν τυφάνιδ' α. [Ad Att. 7. 11.] ipse autem in ore semper græcos versus de Phænissis habebat —

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

[Offic. 3. 21.]

Cato dixit, C. Cæsarem ad evertendam rempublicam, sobriū accessisse. [Quintil. 1. 8. 2.] Abstinētiā neque in Imperiis neque in Magistratibus præstitit — in Gallia fana, templaque Deum donis referta expilavit: urbes diruit, sæpius ob prædam quam delictum — evidentissimis rapinis, ac Sacrilegiis onera bellorum civilium — sustinuit. [Sueton. c. 54. vid. it. Dio. p. 208.]

been born [c]. The question did not turn on the simple merit of his acts, for that would bear no dispute, but on the accidental effects of them; their producing the settlement under Augustus, and the benefits of that government; which was the consequence of his Tyranny. Suetonius, who treats the characters of the Cæsars with that freedom, which the happy reigns, in which he lived, indulged, upon balancing the exact summ of his virtues and vices, declares him, on the whole, *to have been justly killed* [d]: which appears to have been the general sense of the best, the wisest and the most disinterested in Rome, at the time when the fact was committed.

The onely question which seemed to admit any dispute, was, whether it ought to have been committed by those, who were the leaders in it [e]: some of whom owed their lives to Cæsar; and others had been loaded by him with honors, to a degree, that helped to encrease the popular odium; particularly D. Brutus, who was the most cherished by him of them all, *and left by his will, the second Heir of his Estate* [f]. For, of the *Two Brutus's*, it was not Marcus, as it is commonly imagined, but Decimus, who was *the favorite, and whose part in the conspiracy surprized people the most* [g]. But this circumstance served onely for a different handle to the different parties, for aggra-

[c] Vid. Senec. Natur. Quæst. l. 5. 18. p. 766.

[d] Prægravant tamen cætera facta, dictaque ejus, ut & abusus dominatione & jure cæsus existimetur. Sueton. c. 76.

[e] Disputari de M. Bruto solet, an debuerit accipere a D. Julio vitam, cum occi-

dendum eum judicaret. Senec. de Benef. l. 2. 20.

[f] Appian. 2. 518.

[g] Etii est enim Brutorum commune factum & laudis societas æqua, Decimo tamen iratiores erant ii, qui id factum dolebant, quod minus ab eo rem illam dicebant fieri debuisse. Philip. x. 7.

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vating either their crime, or their merit. Cæsar's friends charged them with *base ingratitude*, for killing their Benefactor, and abusing the power which he had given to the destruction of the giver. The other side gave a contrary turn to it; extolled the greater virtue of the men, for not being diverted by private considerations, from doing an act of public benefit: Cicero takes it always in this view, and says, "That the Republic was the more indebted to them, for preferring the common good, to the friendship of any man whatsoever; that as to the kindness of giving them their lives, it was the kindness onely of a Robber, who had first done them the greater wrong, by usurping the power to take it: that, if there had been any stain of ingratitude in the act, they could never have acquired so much glory by it; and though he wondered indeed at some of them for doing it, rather than ever imagined, that they would have done it; yet he admired them so much the more, for being regardless of favors, that they might shew their regard to their Country [b]."

SOME of Cæsar's friends, particularly Panfa and Hirtius, advised him always to keep a standing guard of Prætorian Troops, for the defence of his person; alledging, *that a power acquired by arms must necessarily be maintained by arms*: but his

[b] Quod est aliud beneficium — latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? quod si esset beneficium, nunquam ii qui illum interfecerunt, a quo essant servati, — tantum essent gloriam consecuti. Phil. 2. 3.

Quo etiam majorem ei Respub. gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae præposuit, depulsoque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit — admiratus sum ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriæ fuisset. — ib. 11.

common

common answer was, *that he had rather die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it* [i]. He used to laugh at Sylla for restoring the liberty of the Republic; and to say in contempt of him, *that he did not know his letters* [k]. But, as a judicious writer has observed, Sylla *had learnt a better Grammar than he; which taught him to resign his guards, and his government together: whereas Cæsar, by dismissing the one, yet retaining the other, committed a dangerous solecism in politics* [l]; for he strengthened the popular odium, and consequently his own danger, while he weakened his defence.

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He made several good laws during his administration, all tending to enforce the publick discipline, and extend the penalties of former laws. The most considerable, as well as the most usefull of them was, *that no Prætor should hold any Province more than one year, nor a Consul more than two* [m]. This was a regulation, that *had been often wished for*, as Cicero says, *in the best of times*; and what one of the ablest Dictators of the Republic had declared to be it's chief security, *not to suffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration; but to limit them at least in time, if it was not con-*

[i] Laudandum experientia consilium est Panfæ atque Hirtii: qui semper prædixerant Cæsari, ut principatum armis quæsitum armis teneret. Ille dictitans, mori se quam timeri malle. Vel. P. 2. 57.

Insidias undique imminentes subire semel confessum factis esse, quam cavere semper. Sueton. c. 86.

[k] Nec minoris impotentia voces propalam edebat—Syllam nescisse litteras, qui Dictaturam deposuerit. Sueton. 77.

[l] Vid. Sir H. Savile's Dissertat. de Militia Rom. at the end of his translation of Tacitus.

[m] Phil. 1. 8. Sueton. J. Cæs. 42, 43.

A. Urb. 709. *venient to limit them in power* [n]. Cæsar knew by experience, that the prolongation of these extraordinary commands, and the habit of ruling Kingdoms was the readiest way, not onely to inspire a contempt of the laws, but to give a man the power to subvert them; and he hoped therefore by this law, to prevent any other man from doing what he himself had done, and to secure his own possession from the attempts of all future invaders.

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CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

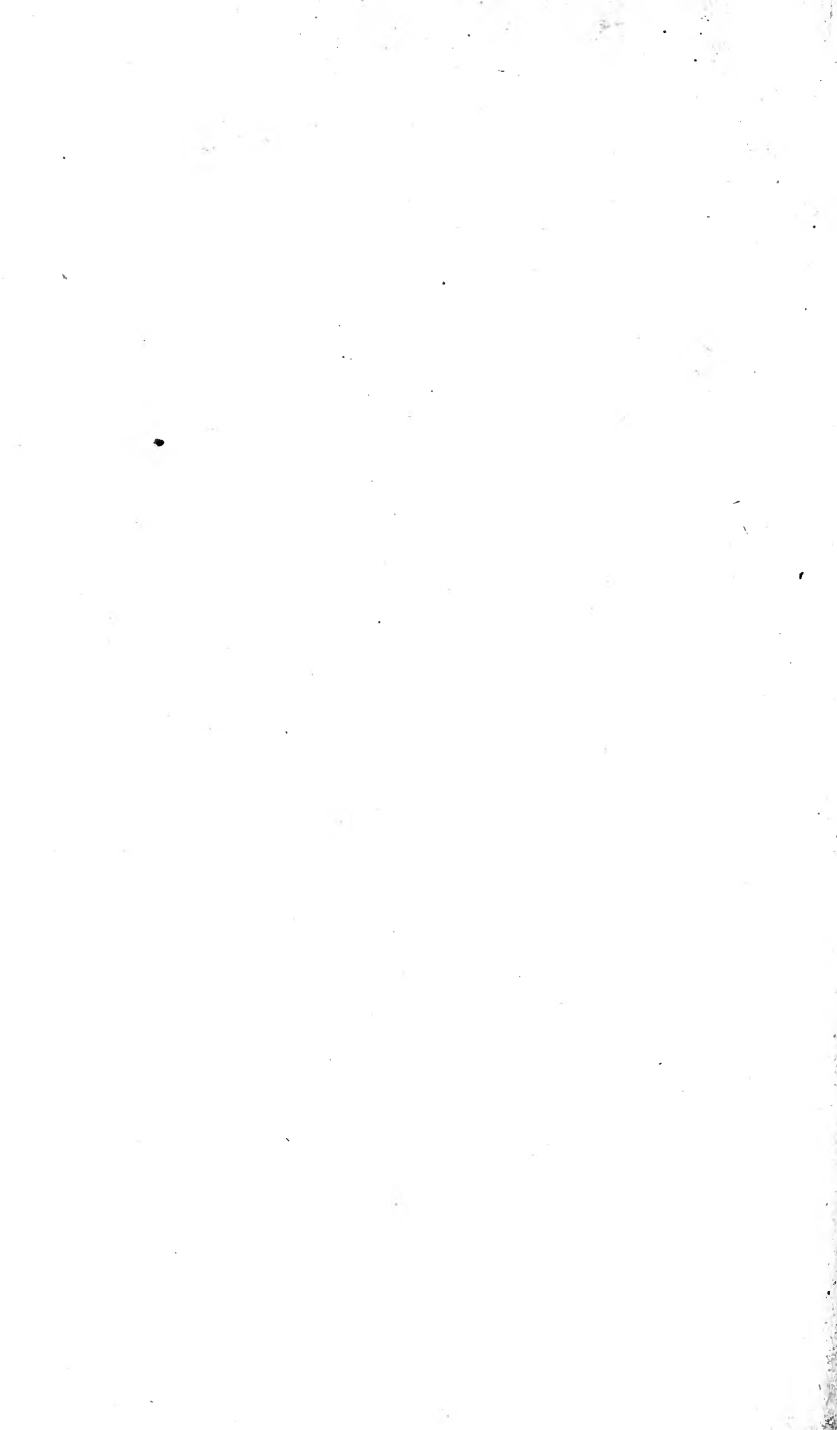
[n] Quæ lex melior, utilior, optima etiam Repub. sæpius flagitata, quam ne Prætoriae provinciæ plus quam annum, neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur?—Phil. 1. 8.

Mamercus Æmilius—maximam autem, ait, ejus custodiam esse, si magna imperia diuturna non essent, & temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non posset. Liv. 1. 4. 24.

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.

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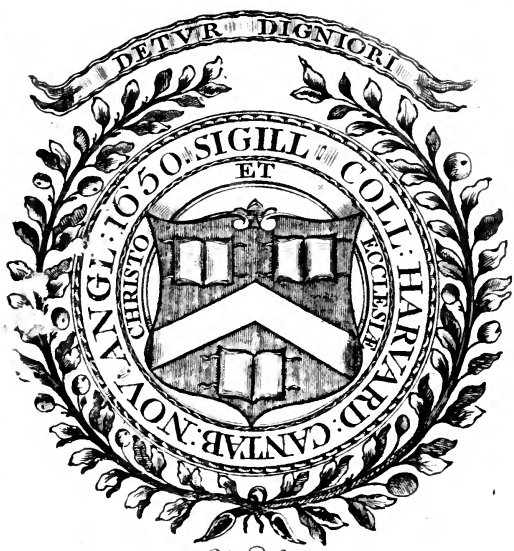
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* ADAMS 221.6



W. H. Wood Sculpt

